"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

the inhabitants thereof."

ltary authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST;

and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive

management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Commandes of the Armt,

HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. ... From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, Servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of

of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERPRED

with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or de-stroyed, to the cossion of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether

it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress

has power to corry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT OF, AC-

conding to the Laws of wan ; and by the laws of war,

an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institu-

tions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE

PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to eman-cipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."--J. Q. Adams.

-18 PUBLISHED -EVERY FRIDAY MORNING, -AT-

m WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 6. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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STUATS

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

ets inserted on reasonable terms.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXIV. NO. 39.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1864.

WHOLE NO. 1755.

Refuge of Oppression.

TALLANDIGHAM'S ACCOUNT OF HIS STEW-ARDSHIP.

A speech delivered at a Pemocratic Ratification Meeting in Dayton, Ohio, Sept. 7th :

FELLOW-CITIZENS,-Without further ceremony, I propose to address you briefly on the subject to coacher which you have assembled here to-night. It is suggested that I should reply to the harangue the other night here by Robert C. Schenek. hade the other night here by Robert C. Schenck. They leave most respectfully to decline. These pressions in which you are all so deeply interested, common with the whole country, are of too great againted to justify me in consuming your time in the discussion of anything which fell from his lips. ould at no time take occa-He belongs to that class of non to reply to them. He belongs to that class of the war, will be consignto oblivion, or live only in memory as the hero of lienas and the petty tyrant of Baltimore. Like venomous, but with a precious well upon his head, his speeches are consistent with a character of his mind. You will pardon me, herefore, if I decline to review that which he uttertherefore, if I decline to review that the doubt, ad here, which I find correctly reported, no doubt, ad here, which I find correctly reported, no doubt, and here, where of the Cincinnati papers. Only let me say that he, of all men, ought to be the last to say that he, or all men, oright to be the last to nounce others as revolutionists, beginning public twenty-two years ago with the most glaring act of revolution ever committed in Ohio, breaking up the legislature, and striving to array in bloody col-lision the party to which he belonged, against the lision the party to which he belonged, against the his-making power of the State. I came back here for other purposes: you are assembled with a different motive. As your representative in part of the Chicago Convention, I am here to-night to render briefly an account of my stewardship there. Of the aportance of that Convention I need say nothing-lay let me say that in numbers, in character, in gnity, and in ability, it was fully adequate to the arpose for which it assembled. I do not exaggerte-nay, scarce even do justice to that body of men-when I say it was the grandest Convention assembled on this Continent since 1787. He must be an eriticise the action of that Convention, especially if he professes to belong to the party which it rep-neented. The Convention was emphatically nor-enly a peaceable but a Peace Convention. [Ap-phuse.] It assembled and sat in harmony, and declared the present public sentiment of the United States, and, unequivocal in its language, it has explicity declared it. Denouncing the war as an ex-periment and a failure, and charging to its account the oppressions, wrongs and outrages committed by the Administration for the past four years, as well the injury to the material prosperity of the coun-which has followed, it demands, as the sentiment of the people of these United States, that immedi-tie efforts be made for the cessation of hostilities, to the end that there may be a Convention of the States, to restore peace to the land upon the basis a Federal Union of the States. This is its prochared unswerving fidelity to that Union. The four mations of Abraham Lincoln, urging you to gre thanks in every variety of language, and ad-dresed to everybody, except "to all whom it may oracern" [laughter]—I believe that is omitted [laghter]—have not struck an answering chord in

he hearts of the people. These hearts no longer iterate to the clamors of war. If he imagines

Democratic party—every conservative man in the land—every man who is weary of the policies of this Administration—to unite in that cordial and hearty support. [Applause.] It costs me no effort to yield it now—no sacrifice; but if I were obliged to sacrifice anything but principle—if General McClellan were my personal enemy, a man that I dis.

I have confined myself, men of Dayton to the Clellan were my personal enemy, a man that I dis-liked and held in abhorrence, yet, as the representa-tive of that great party which is seeking to save this

of turning out of power the man who dishonors the White House, and the men who, like the Goths and Wandals, have polluted the capitol of my country. I am not here for an elaborate eulogy of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. I accept him as presented by, and support him to carry out—as I know he will carry out—the doctrines and principles enunciated in that Convention, which are now the demand of the people of the United States. While we will adhere to the last extremity to the union of these States upon a federal basis, he is committed—and he is a gentleman, and will carry out every pledge—I say he is committed to resort to peaceable instrumentalities to secure that end. I need not argue that question before this people—not only not before men of the Democratic party, but not even before men of the Republican party, who hold no position, have no contracts, and no selfish motives to bias their judgment. [Applause.] The times demand that they who hold power should be ejected from their high places. The popular demand is for a change of Administration—a change for the purpose of bringing back the Union, and bringing peace to this divided and distracted land. Who will falter? What patriot will fail now? Who will failer? What patriot will fail now? Who will failer? What patriot will fail now? Who will failer, the fail of the country, the main-increase of the Constitution, the reconstruction of the Union, the rescuing of everything that is near and dear to us, depend upon a change of administration. With those who have no party ties with us, if the consent to this one change of administration. some the every locities of the propie. There heavis no longer with the control of the propie. There heavis no longer with the control of the propie. There heavis no longer with the control of the propie. There heavis no longer with the control of the propie. There heavis no longer with the propies of the

on the 8th of November next. Such were the terms more augmentation of the public debt—no more in which I spoke then of the gentleman who is now dragging of your children from their homes to the the candidate of the Democratic party of the United battle-field, to be offered up as a sacrifice that nethe candidate of the Democratic party of the United States for the Presidency. I endorse every word now, to-night, and therefore cheerfully, upon the platform laid down by that Convention, give him my most earnest and cordial support. [Applause.] Why did I oppose his nomination? Only because he was supposed to be, previous to that Convention, the representative of the idea of coercion and this war. Divested of that, there is not a man in America more fit for the choice. There is not a man whose attachments to the principles and whose obedience to the precepts of Christianity—a man whose devotion to his country—a man who in every sense of the word is a gentleman—I say, there is not a man in any respect above or beyond Gen. McClellan. [Applause.] On that platform, then, henceforth, calling for the agencies of peace, and a resort to the instruplause.] On that platform, then, henceforth, calling for the agencies of peace, and a resort to the instrumentalities through which our Government was originally founded, I can yield to him the support which here I have pledged, and I call upon you, one and all—every man who calls himself a member of the Demogratic party—every conservative man in the for Pendleton")—I need not speak. You know

questions of the Convention, the platform, and the candidate—displaying briefly the reasons which country, he should have my support for the purpose of turning out of power the man who dishonors the White House, and the men who, like the Goths and who demands reflection. It is not my purpose to It is at this crisis that the pleasant hostelry or

meantime, the maintenance of the Constitution as it. That is the reason why he has been so persecuted by Abolition rebels and dismonsists; but it is the proud boast of himself and his friends that, in spite of all this abuse and calumny, he has call by and steadfastly pursued his policy. All our reverses followed his supersecuted. All our reverses followed he has the evoted and enthusiastic affection of his soldiers. He has the devoted and enthusiastic affection of his soldiers. He has the devoted and enthusiastic affection of his soldiers. He has the devoted and enthusiastic affection of his soldiers, and the very devel is in hell send up their fiendish shouts of exultation at the prospect of a bine, therefore, and the army, commit the secession rebellion of the South."

And that day of triumph came to him on the 31st day of August, and will be renewed more gloriously on the States, and hand paper convertible at your in which I spoke then of the gentleman who is now in which I spoke then of the gentleman who is now in which I spoke then of the gentleman who is now in which I spoke then of the gentleman who is now in which I spoke then of the gentleman who is now in which I spoke then of the gentleman who is now in which I spoke then of the gentleman who is now in the secretal thream of the cannot be a part of the least to the total cut the proportion of the south."

Addministration should into death. Be entreative distillation. Look to toy our currency and bastile, there to remain at the pleasure of Abraham at the persenct toy our ama nagainst whom to true time. Look to toy our ama nagainst whom to true, and the paper spoke the most of the legal President, in time. He pear the beaution. They are to the legal President of the paper spoke the obstitution; warred in time, then Look to your search to the constitution; warred in time, then Look to your ananagiants whom to look to you ama nagainst whom to love tyour currency are to the supporters of Abraham Lincoln to talk about arbitrary arrests. I might claim a monopoly upon that subject, but it is one upon which I rarely speak. I did not come here to talk of personal assaults and personal grievances. The day of reckoning will make the personal grievances. The day of reckoning will installed in his office without any resistance on the personal grievances. The day of reckoning will come. I postpone it all. Daybook and ledger are locked up until first my country has been saved, and then these accounts will be produced, and placed in the hands of the people's collecting officers, and you shall pay to the uttermost farthing. But first we have a country to rescue from ruin and misrule, and until that great work has been accomplished, every day, every hour of my existence, every thought—all that is dearest to me, shall be yielded up cheerfully and freely, until upon the 8th of November, or the morning of the 9th, when the sun shall rise to record a country about to be redeemed, regentated as the country about to be redeemed, regentated as the country solong, should be allowed to recommence, at the country about to be redeemed, regentated as the country solong, should be allowed to recommence, as the country about to be redeemed, regentated as the country solong, should be allowed to recommence, as the country about to be redeemed, regentated as the country solong, should be allowed to recommence, as the country about to be redeemed.

Selections.

FORESHADOWING OF EVENTS.

The following is an extract of a letter to the Lon-

It is at this crisis that the pleasant hostelry on the Canadian side of the Niagara has become the centre of negotiations which promise the withdraw-al of the differences between the North and South from the arbitrament of the sword. As the Repub-lican party, under the leadership of Mr. Lincoln, either cannot or will not make peace, and will not listen to any proposal of compromise which does not involve two conditions which the South will not ac-cent restration of the Union and abilities of sizes. bisten to any proposal of compromise which does not involve two conditions which the South will not accept restoration of the Union and abolition of slavery—the Northern friends of peace, who hope to elect a peace President in Nov. next, have taken counsel with such Southern exiles and friends of peace as have congregated on the Canadian frontier, to ascertain whether there is no common ground upon which the relationship of Mr. Lincoln, leading the please them better. At all events, the Northern Democracy have resolved that Americans shall not continue to cut each other's throats in support of a political partnership which has ceased to be agreeable to one of the contending parties; and that, if union be utterly impracticable, an alliance and an entente cordiale may take its place.

The Manchester Examiner and There ticle, commenting on the above, says:

ground upon which the whole weight of the Democratic party might be brought to bear against the
war faction, and on which a peace candidate might
be nominated at Chicago on the 29th inst. The
South, through Messrs. Clay and Holcombe, the
South, through Messrs. Clay and Holcombe, the
fully authorized agents of President Davis, demands
an armistic and the calling together of a national
patriotism, intelligence and self-respect of the great South, through Messrs. Clay and Holcombe, the fully authorized agents of President Davis, demands an armistice and the calling together of a national convention, as prescribed by the Constitution, for the consideration of all matters in dispute. The Democratic party of the North, no longer hopelessify split into two sections, the one advocating war and the other peace, has made up its differences on all minor and major issues, and has resolved to support at Chicago a candidate for the Presidency who if not known, that Mr. Lincoln, in his insane desire of re-election, will, under the plan of reconstruction which gives a right to a tenth part of the population of any State in the military occupation of the fed this purpose. At the Chicago of the soldiery, and by the exclusion from the polls of all persons who will not take a test-oath of unconditional loyalty to the Union, it has been resolved by the leading Conservatives and Democrats who are now and have been recently assembled at the Clifton House, that measures shall immediately be taken to defect this purpose. At the Chicago Convention, shall be contend as having voted for the Chicago nominees; and that if such nominees shall receive a elear majority of the electoral vote, inclusive of the Border that is such nominees shall receive a elear majority of the electoral vote, inclusive of the Border that is such nominees shall receive a elear majority of the electoral vote, inclusive of the Border that is such nominees shall receive a elear majority of the electoral vote, inclusive of the Border that for the Union was presented at the Union may still be saved by discussion, that the Union may still be saved by discussion, the union is a proposition of an experiment of the produce of the Border that is such nominees shall receive a elear majority of the electoral vote, inclusive of the Border that the Union may still be saved by discussion, the contended that the Union may still be saved by discussion, the contended that the Union may still be saved by discussion, of the proud people of the Northern States. Why, the solution, it has been resolved by the leading Conservatives and Democrats who are now and have been recently assembled at the Clifford House, that measures shall unmediately be taken to defeat the purpose. At the case of the control of the property of the property of the case of the Convention, the case of the Convention of of

such circumstances, the war, which has desolated the country so long, should be allowed to recommence, it is scarcely possible to believe. Under every aspect of the case, it is clear that the election of Mr. Richmond will end the civil war. Of that fact there can be no reasonable doubt. But will it restore the Union? The Southern leaders are content to leave that question to the National Convention, though certain, with the certainty of a foregone conclusion, that the Union is at an end, never to be restored in name or in fact, in show or in substance. restored in name or in fact, in show or in substance.
The Northern Democratic leaders are also content to leave the question to the Convention, not withabout three weeks previous to the Chicago Convention.
Its author, Mr. Mackay, is supposed to be well informed in relation to the plan and purposes of Fernando
Wood, Vallandigham & Co.:—

It is at this crisis that the pleasant hostelry on

Revoluter Democratic leaters are also content
to leave the question to the Convention, not without a faint hope that somehow or other, by time and
good management, or by chance and happy fortune,
the North may be re-united to the South, if the
South refuses to be re-united to the North, and that
the Constitution of the Confederacy may be adopt-Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, and all the States except the six little States of New England, who are to be "left out in the cold." to be pendent if they please, or to annex themselves to Canada, if this solution of their difficulties shall

whatever in the matter of secession? Davis's words, if nothing else, ought to rebuke into silence their slimy tongues, so prolific of treasonable cant. "We seceded to rid ourselves of the rule of the

majority." So we of the North have always main-tained, which you of the South have until now de-nied. Andrew Johnson thought this to be the cause of your treason, for in the course of his memorable speech of December 18, 1003, in Senate, (in our opinion the strongest argument against secession ever made in that chamber,) in whether it would not be better for the ech of December 18, 1861, in the United States uggesting whether it would not be better for the bouth to bear those ills she had, than fly to others she knew not of, he turned to Southern Senators. and wanted to know if their intentions were to es-tablish a despotism, when they had succeeded in breaking up the old Union, and giving as his grounds for the apprehension, certain extracts from promi-nent Southern journals, discussing the relative merits of Republicanism and Despotism. His vision was not closed to the dangers of the change, and he thought it prudent to look around him and see where the Southern mind was drifting, ere he counselled Tennessee to cut her moorings from the old Republic. How prophetic were Senator Johnson's apprehensions! Every bullet thrown from rebel guns is aimed at Republicanism—against the right of the majority to gavern, and in defence of despotism—of the right of the few to govern the many. Can you doubt it?

you doubt it?

"We seceded to rid ourselves of the rule of the majority," says Mr. Davis, in order to do what? To establish a government in which the majority shall have neither voice nor votes, to entrench ourselves and our institution within the bulwarks of despot

Again, copperheads, in your defence of slavery and treason, you sneered at Mr. Lincoln's Proclama-tion of Freedom, when it was issued, as a measure only calculated to divide the North, and exasperate the South, while it was harmless in affecting ject. You jeered at it because it was simply eman-cipation on parchment, because it was not strong enough to strike the chains from the slaves. Now, at the close of a year and a half—a short time for so great a result—what is the record, what is the testimony of Mr. Davis? He says: "You have already emancipated nearly two millions of our slaves, and you may emancipate every negro in the Confederacy, but we will be free. We are not fighting for slavery. We are fighting for independence—and that, or extermination, we will have." So potent has this instrument of your ridicule and contempt become, that it has already marked the destruction of that slavery, to preserve which this foul rebellion was begun. Three years ago the South was bold to proclaim that she went to war to protect her "peculiar institution." Now she is compelled to change her "base," as her idol is overthrown.

Years ago, the Old Man Eloquent, in a spirit of prophecy, warned the South to desist in her encroachments upon the liberties of the North, lest they press her to that extremity where "forbearat the close of a year and a half-a short time for

they press her to that extremity where "forbear-ance ceases to be a virtue," a quarrel would ensue, when their institution of slavery would be wiped out—aye, in blood! Wendell Phillips has longed for disunion, that the supporting influence of the Con-stitution might be withdrawn from the incubus of slavery: Andrew Johnson declared to the South, that were he an abolitionist, he knew of no means by which the object of his desires could he accomished quicker than by the dissolution of the Uni Adams, from his home above, may now listen to the sweet music of falling chains, and rejoice in the versweet music of falling chains, and rejoice in the verification of his prophecy. Johnson can look back
with proud satisfaction upon the wisdom of his
course; and Phillips can rejoice now that "the Lord
reigneth;" that "the covenant with death" is annulled, the "agreement with hell" broken; and
that the chain which has supported slavery since
1787 is parted.
CONSCRIPT. 1787 is parted.

—National Eagle. CONSCRIPT.

THE RIGHTS OF COLORED SOLDIERS.

LETTER OF GEN. BUTLER TO THE REBEL CCMMISSIONERS OF EXCHANGE.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA, IN THE FIELD, August —, 1864. Hon. ROBERT OULD, Commissioner of Exchange: Sir: Your note to Major Mulford, Assistant Agent of Exchange, under the date of 17th of Au-gust, has been referred to me.

You therein state that Major Mulford has several

times proposed to exchange prisoners respectively held by the two belligerents, officer for officer and man for man, and that "the offer has also been made by other officials having charge of matters connected with the exchange of prisoners"; and that "this proposal has been heretofore declined by the Confederate authorities." That you now consent to the above proposalion and agree to deliver the Confederate authorities." That you now consent to the above proposition, and agree to deliver to you [Major Mulford] the prisoners held in captivity by the Confederate authorities, provided you agree to deliver an equal number of officers and men. As equal numbers are delivered from time to time, they will be declared exchanged. This proposal is made with the understanding that officers and men on both sides who have been longest in captivity will be first delivered, where it is practicable.

and men on both sides who have been longest in captivity will be first delivered, where it is practicable.

From a slight ambiguity in your phraseology, but more, perhaps, from the antecedent action of your authorities, and because of your acceptance of it, I am in doubt whether you have stated the proposition with entire accuracy.

It is true, a proposition was made both by Major Mulford and by myself, as agents of exchange, to exchange all prisoners of war taken by either belligerent party, man for man, officer for officer, of equal rank, or their equivalents. It was made by me as early as the first of the Winter of 1863—4, and has not been accepted. In May last I forwarded to you a note, desiring to know whether the Confederate authorities intended to treat colored soldiers of the United States army as prisoners of war. To that inquiry no answer has yet been made. To avoid all possible misapprebension or mistake hereafter as to your offer now, will you now say whether you mean by "prisoners held in captivity," colored men, duly enrolled and mustered into the service of the United States, who have been captured by the Confederate forces; and if your authorities are willing to exchange all soldiers so mustered into the United States army, whether colored or otherwise, and the officers commanding them, man for man, officer for officer?

At an interview which was held between yourself and the agent of exchange on the part of the United States, at Fortress Monroe, in March last, you will do me the favor to remember the principal discussion turned upon this very point; you, on behalf of the Confederate government, claiming the right to hold all negroes, who had heretofore been slaves and not emancipated by their masters or claimants, whoever they might be, to be held by them as slaves.

BER 16.

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the hiring out was car-persons per day. The ent is effected of course cat is effected of course; until they are of age, hired out unless with a year's time. During ther hired out nearly. There is but little sick-present. The hospital, tel one. Not only is it I clean, and splendidly wed upon the nations. t clean, and splendidly weed upon the patients every appliance which the hours of illness is mber of cases at present a common the second at the common terms of Mason's Island at n hundred are there are sent to Freedmen's sewhere indicated, they

is observed at Mason's is done by the people oplied with cows which families are furnished hospitals are furnished ily. The hiring out is han ever before. nospitals are furnished lly. The hiring out is han ever before. The e is almost out of sight scenes. Its flight of , and as you approach the right, and mahoga-the left. Peach and e atmosphere a faint nese arbor-vitæ and a flowers mingle their eriver flows serenely ers can be described roods along the shore, steep slopes. On the taza, which was ancient-but which is now used ce of prayer-meeting.
ee preacher holds forth
man in the afternoon.
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JX BANNISTER. ter Street, Boston.

IXTURES, Fixtures furnished and ope cleaned, leaks stop-leas Glasses of all kinds Gas Burners of all the Orders may be left at tore, 132 Charles street, LSON L. PERKINS.

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of Mr. Garrison is on illiams & Everett, 334 in approval. It will be nd published early in C. H. BRAINARD. R. F. WALLET, Asti-ot. July 29.

nches, of Paine's Pen-cipation Proclamation, all was donated to the absorbation of \$500 pre-nited States. A single DO A liberal discount it is a beautiful and aron of the country.

By the advertisements in your newspapers, call-ng upon masters to come forward and claim these ing upon masters to come forward and claim these men so captured, I suppose that your authorities still adhere to that claim; that is to say, that whenever a colored soldier of the United States is captured by you, upon whom any claim can be made by any person residing within the States now in insurrection, such soldier is not to be treated as a surrection, such soldier is not to be treated as a of war, but is to be turned over to his sup ed owner or claimant, and put at such labor rvice as that owner or claimant may choose, and service as that owner or claimant may closes, and the officers in command of such soldiers, in the lan-guage of a supposed act of the Confederate States, are to be turned over to the Governors of States, upon requisitions, for the purpose of being punished by the laws of such States for acts done in war in

by the laws of the United States.

You must be aware that there is still a proclamation by Jefferson Davis, claiming to be Chief Executive of the Confederate States, declaring in substance that all officers of colored troops mustered into the service of the United States wer

treated as prisoners of war, but were to be turned over for punishment to the Governors of States.

I am reciting these public acts from memory, and shall be pardoned for not giving the exact words, although I believe I do not vary the substance and

These declarations on the part of those whom you represent yet remain unrepealed, unannulled, unrevoked, and must therefore be still supposed to be authoritative. By your acceptance of our proposition, is the government of the United States to understand that these several claims, enactments and proclaimed declarations are to be given up, set aside, revoked, and held for naught by the Confed-erate authorities, and that you are ready and willing to exchange man for man those colored soldiers of the United States, duly mustered and enrolled as such, who have heretofore been claimed as slaves by the Confederate States, as well as white soldiers?

If this be so, and you are so willing to exchange these colored men claimed as slaves, and you will so officially inform the government of the United States, then, as I am instructed, a principal diffiin effecting exchanges will be ren

As I informed you personally, in my judgment, it neither consistent with the policy, dignity or honor is neither consistent with the policy, dignity or honor of the United States, upon any consideration, to allow those who, by our laws solemnly enacted, are made soldiers of the Union, and who have been duly enlisted, enrolled and mustered as such soldiers— who have borne arms in behalf of this country, not to be treated as prisoners of war, and remain unex-changed, and in the service of those who claim them as masters; and I cannot believe that the govern ent of the United States will ever be found to consent to so gross a wrong.

Pardon me if I misunderstood you in supposing

that your acceptance of our proposition does not in good faith mean to include all the soldiers of the Union, and that you still intend, if your acceptance is agreed to, to hold the colored soldiers of the Union nnexchanged, and at labor or service, because I am informed that very lately, almost contemporaneously with this offer on your part to exchange prisoners, and which seems to include all prisoners of war, the Confederate authorities have made a declaration that the negroes hitherto held to service by owners States of Delaware, Maryland and Misare to be treated as prisoners of war when captured in arms in the service of the United States. Such declaration that a part of the colored soldiers of the dectaration that a part of the colored soldiers of the United States were to be prisoners of war would seem most strongly to imply that others were not to be so treated, or in other words, that colored men from the insurrectionary States are to be held to labor and returned to their masters, if captured by the Confederate forces while duly enrolled and mustered into and actually in the armies of the United tered into and actually in the armies of the United

In the view which the government of the United States takes of the claim made by you to the persons and services of these negroes, it is not to be supported upon any principle of national or municipal law. Looking upon these men only as property, uno

your theory of property in them, we do not see how this claim can be made, certainly not how it can be ielded. It is believed to be a well-settled rule of the laws of war, that the capture of movable the laws of war, that the capture of movable property vests the title to that property in the captor, and therefore, when one belligerent gets into full possession property belonging to the subjects or citizens of the other belligerent, the owner of that property is at once divested of his title, which rests in the belligerent government capturing and holding such possession. Upon this rule of international law all civilized nations have acted, and by it both law all civilized nations have acted, and by it both belligerents have dealt with all property, save belligerents have dealt with all property, save slaves, taken from each other during the present war. If the Confederate forces capture a number of norses from the United States, the animals immediately are claimed to be, and, as we understand it,

the property of the Confederate authorities. the United States capture any movable property in the rebellion, by our regulations and laws, in conformity with international law and the laws of war, such property is turned over to our government as its property. Therefore, if we obtain pos-session of that species of property known to the laws of the insurrectionary States as slaves, why should there be any doubt that that property, like any other, yests in the United States?

If the property in the slave does so vest, then the "jus disponendi," the right of disposing of that property, rests in the United States.

Now the United States have disposed of the prop-

erty which they have acquired by capture, in slaves taken by them, by giving that right of property to the man himself, to the slave, that is, by emancipating him and declaring him free forever, so that if we ave not mistaken the principles of international w and the laws of war, we have no slaves in the armies of the United States. All are free men, being made so in such a mainer as we have chosen to dispose of our property in them which we acquired

Slaves being captured by us, and the right of property in them thereby vested in us, that right of property has been disposed of by us by manumitting them, as has always been the acknowledged right of the dispose of our property while it is in our possession cannot be questioned by you.

Nor is the case altered if the property is not actu-

ally captured in battle, but comes either voluntarily or involuntarily from the belligerent owner into the possession of the other belligerent.

I take it no one would doubt the right of the

United States to a drove of Confederate mules, or a herd of Confederate cattle, which should wander or rush across the Confederate lines into the lines of the United States army. So it seems to me, treating the negro as property merely, if that piece of property passes the Confederate lines, and comes inlines of the United States, that property is as lost to its owner in the Confederate States as would be the mule or ox, the property of the resi dent of the Confederate States, which should fall in

erefore, the principles of international law and the laws of war used in this discussion are corand the laws of war used in this discussion are cor-rectly stated, then it would seem that the deduction logically flows therefrom, in natural sequence, that the Confederate States can have no claim upon the negro soldiers captured by them from the armies of the United States, because of the former ownership of them by their citizens or subjects, and only claim such as result, under the laws of war, from their capture merely.

Do the Confederate authorities claim the right to reduce to a state of slavery free men, prisoners of war captured by them? This claim our fathers fought against under Bainbridge and Decatur, when set up by the Barbary powers on the northern shore of Africa, about the year 1800, and in 1864 their children will hardly yield it upon their own soil.

This point I will not pursue further, because I un-derstand you to repudiate the idea that you will re-duce free men to slaves because of capture in war, and that you base the claim of the Confederate authorities to reenslave our negro soldiers, when cap-tured by you, upon the "jus post limini," or that principle of the law of nations which rehabilitates the former owner with his property taken by an en-emy, when such property is recovered by the forces of his own country.

Or, in other words, you claim that by the laws of nations and of war, when property of the subjects of one belligerent power, captured by the forces of the other belligerent, is recaptured by the armies of the former owner, then such property is to be restored to its prior possessor, as if it had never been captured, and, therefore, under this principle, your authorities propose to restore for their masters the slaves which heretofore belonged to them which you may canture from us.

But this post liminary right under which you laim to act, as understood and defined by all writers on national law, is applicable simply to immova-ble property, and that, too, only after the complete resubjugation of that portion of the country in which the property is situated, upon which this right fastens itself. By the laws and customs of war, this right has never been applied to moveable

property.

True, it is, I believe, that the Romans attempted to apply it to the case of slaves, but for two thous-and years no other nation has attempted to set up this right as ground for treating slaves differently

from other property.

But the Romans ever refused to reënslave men captured from opposing belligerents in a civil war such as ours unhappily is. Consistently, then, with any principle of the law

otherwise than as prisoners of war.

I have forborne, sir, in this discussion, to argue the question upon any other or different grounds of right than those adopted by your authorities in claiming the negro as property, because I under-stand that your fabric of opposition to the govern-ment of the United States has the right of properment of the United States has the right of proper-ty in man as its corner-stone. Of course, it would not be profitable in settling a question of exchange of prisoners of war to attempt to argue the question of abandonment of the very corner-stone of their attempted political edifice. Therefore I have omitattempted political edifice. Therefore I have ouncted all the consideration which should apply to the negro soldier as a man, and dealt with him upon the Confederate theory of property only.

I unite with you most cordially, sir, in desiring a attempted political edifice.

I unite with you most cordially, sir, in the large of the property of the prop speedy settlen the great suffering endured by our prisoners in the bands of your authorities, of which you so feelingly speak. Let me ask, in view of that suffering, why you have delayed eight months to answer a proposition which by now accepting you admit to be right, just and humane, allowing that suffering to continue so long? One cannot help thinking, even at the risk of being deemed uncharitable, that the benevo-lent sympathies of the Confederate authorities have been lately stirred by the depleted condition of their armies, and a desire to get into the field to af-fect the present campaign, the hale, hearty and well-fed prisoners held by the United States in exchange for the half-starved, sick, emaciated and unservicea ble soldiers of the United States now languishing in The events of this war, if we did not know it before, have taught us that it is not the Northern portion of the Northern people alone who know how to drive sharp bargains

The wrongs, the indignities and privations suffered by our soldiers would move me to consent to anything to procure their exchange, except to barter away the honor and faith of the government of the United States, which has been so solemnly pledged

to the colored soldiers in its ranks. Consistently with national faith and justice, we cannot relinquish this position. With your authorities it is a question of property merely. It seems to address itself to you in this form. Will you suffer your soldier, captured in fighting your battles, to confinement for months, rather than release him by giving him for that which you call a piece of property, and which we are willing to accept as a man?

You certainly appear to place less value upon your soldier than you do upon your negro. I as-sure you, much as we of the North are accused of oving property, our citizens would have no difficulty in yielding up any piece of property they have in exchange for one of their brothers or sons lan-guishing in your prisons. Certainly there could be no doubt that they would do so were that piece of property less in value than five thousand dollars in Confederate money, which is believed to be the price of an able-bodied negro in the insurrectiona-

States Trusting that I may receive such a reply to the uestions propounded in this note as will lead to a tion of the negotiations for a full ex-

GENERAL JOE HOOKER'S SPEECH ON THE WAR.

The people of Watertown, Mass., where "Fighting Joe" Hooker is making a brief sojourn, cele-brated the Atlanta victory on Monday night. A procession was formed, and marched to the resi-dence of O. V. Brainard, where the General is stopping, and the hero of Lookout Mountain made them the following pointed and above them

that the army of wise parent would a vicious child—he must whip him into subjection. No milder discipline will aning it but by the power of our arms—by fighting the conspiracy to death. This rebellion is tottering now while I speak; it is going down, down, and will soon tumble into ruin. Politicians may talk will soon tumble into ruin. Politicians may talk to you about the cause of the war, but I say, put down the rebellion, and then, if you choose, inquire into the cause of it. But first put down the insurgents—first whip them, and then talk about the cause, if you have nothing else to engage your attention. I believe in treating the rebellion as Gen. Jackson treated Indians—whip them first, and treat with them afterwards. The Union cannot be divided, let politicians talk as they may; for if division commences, where are you to end? First the South would go, then the Pacific States, then New England. I hear that one notorious politician has advo-cated that the city of New York should secede from the Empire State. In such case there would be no and to rebellion. Gentlemen, every interest you have depends upon the success of our cause; every dollar you possess is at stake in the preservation of this Union. It will better accord with my feelings to see the limits of our glorious country extended, rather than circumscribed, and we may feel it a national necessity to unlesse our borders as no distant rather than circumscribed, and we may see it a na-tional necessity to enlarge our borders at no distant day. This Union, gentlemen, cannot be dissolved, as long as the army have guns to fight with. Fur-nish men and muskets, and the Union is secured.

This is the language of true patriotism, worthy

"A MILITARY ADVENTURER."

The Richmond Dispatch of June, 1862, said :

" In the early part of this war, General McClellan wrote to a distinguished officer in the South, ex-pressing his desire to serve in the Confederate army. If he cares to deny the fact—and his recent report proves that, in mendacity, he is the representative man of the Yankee nation—it can be demonstrated by such evidence as will close his lips in eternal silence. When he was at West Point, he affected to said:—

The Tiberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1864.

THE CONFLICT, AND ITS CHARACTER.

The patriotic American who takes a general survey of his country at the present time, will be scarcely less interested in the conflict which is waging at the North, than in that which is saturating with human blood the battle-fields of the South. of the conflict is, in both regions, the same. North Consistently, then, with any principle of the law of nations, treating slaves as property merely, it would seem to be impossible for the government of the United States to permit the negroes in their ranks to be reënslaved when captured, or treated the edifice erected by the early builders, whose Continuous ner Stone was Universal Liberty, and that which recent architects have sought to found, whose Corn Stone is Slavery. This conflict, in which not only all that is precious in the institutions of this country but all that is dear to humanity is involved, reached its crisis, and that crisis will last until after the 8th of November next. In this conflict, the traitors in arms, marshalled under Davis and Lee at the uth, and the traitors and Copperheads, armed and unarmed, marshalled under McClellan and landigham at the North, form one army. Alike, they seek the overthrow of the existing Government, for the reason that it is administered in the spirit of free lom, and not in the interest of slavery. Alike, the are animated by a feeling of malignant hostility and inconquerable rage against Abraham Lincoln, on acunt of his anti-slavery policy, and because he has ade the abandonment of slavery, as well as a return to the Union, a condition of peace with the revolte States. Alike, they hold in contempt and abhorre that part of the Creator's offspring known by the name of the "Negro Race," and would make it part and parcel of the fundamental laws of their new no ion, that the hated race should be held in everlasting involuntary servitude. Alike, they would crush all reedom of speech, save when the faculty of speech employed to vindicate the right of one me nslave and imbrute another. Alike, they would resort to any means, however violent or bloody, to achieve their objects, when the attainment of the was delayed or opposed by legal or constitutional ob-

> With this consolidated power-the Slave Pow North and South-the friends of law and liberty, of free institutions and a republican form of govern ment, have, during this crisis, to contend. power formidable in its proportions, flerce in its temer, unscrupulous in the use of weapons, earnest, reslute and desperate-but not invincible.

The loyal and patriotic task of defeating and utt vanquishing this terrible power is divided between he brave armies of the Union in the field of arm warfare at the South, and the Republican party in the field of Presidential politics at the North.

The troops that are fighting for the National cau against the armies of rebellion at the South has given assurance that their part of the work shall be well and triumphantly done; physical obstacles, however, may for awhile postpone its completion. Not so at the North. The day is irrevocably fixed, when the contending parties will be comronted, and the issue be determined. That day draws near.

Six weeks only intervene between the present, the time when the people will have to decide, by their votes for Presidential electors, upon which of the two contending parties they will confer the power of ad ninistering, for the next four years, the affairs of this change of all prisoners, and a delivery of them to their respective authorities, I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BENJ. F. BUTLER,

Major-Gen. and Commissioner of Exchange.

Bendie T. Republic. Then it will be seen, whether the work of freedom, humanity and civilization, which has advanced so auspiciously during the last three years, shall be continued and consummated; or whether that which has been done shall be utterly undone, and the dominion of slavery, with its cruelties and barba ism, be reëstablished.

There is a course which may be taken, in th

eventful crisis, which we have a confident belief would lead to a glorious victory, and which we are certain is the right and heaven-approved one, whatever may be the result. That course is, to make this Presidential contest one of principles-of principles of the highest political morality-principles precisely the pposites of those that have been avowed by the mis-Fellow Citizens,—You have come here to rejoice at the success of the Union arms, in which I am ready to join you heart and hand. My business divested of all qualifications and all compromise. Let styled Democracy of the country. Let there be set own distinctly wha Sherman is invincible, and cannot and what may be lost, by the use or the abuse of the be disheartened. We must treat this rebellion as a right they are about to exercise. Let the people swer the purpose. Some are crying peace; but there can be no peace as long as a rebel can be found with arms in his hands. Woe be to those who cry peace when there is no peace! This Union must be preserved, and there is no way of preserved. mendous issues involved in the present political strug-States shall hereafter rest. Let it be shown that the question will have to be decided, who shall be "the people" that shall form the future Union, and shall ontrol the destinies of the Nation; whether th friends of liberty and equality, of free institution and universal education : or those who constitute th most vicious and dangerous elements of Northern society, in combination with all that is degraded, brutal and despotic at the South.

"Men of thought! be up and stirring, Night and day! Sow the seed-withdraw the curtain-

Clear the way! Men of action, aid and cheer them, Lo! a cloud's about to vanish

From the day;
Lo! the right's about to conquerClear the way!
And a brazen wrong to crumble

Into clay!

Men of thought and men of action,

CLEAR THE WAY!

SPEECH OF AN M. P.

At a banquet recently given by the Master Cutle of Sheffield, England, speeches were made by Mr. J. A. Roebuck, the representative of the town, and Sir Frank Crossley, Bart., one of the members for the county. Mr. Roebuck, for the first time since the reaking out of the war, was silent on the subject of America. His parliamentary colleague, however, was not wholly forgetful of the topic. He thought that England, having entailed upon herself a debt of £890,000,000, through interference in the affairs of other countries, had acted wisely in abstaining from taking any part in the struggles which during the las few years had agitated Europe and America. He

by such evidence as will close his lips in eternal silence. When he was at West Point, he affected to fraternize especially with those from his own section. We dare say this was genuine, and that he really was anxious to serve under Jeff. Davis in this war, but the high bribe offered by Lincoln, was too much for his easy virtue. He was not the man to sacrifice interest to sentiment, and of late has shown a disposition to become as extreme in his antagonism as is his friendship for the South."

The Richmond Whig copied the above, and added:

"After the battle of Rich Mountain, McClellan declared to Confederate officers, who were prisoners of war, that he would much rather be leading an army against Massachusetts than Virginia. This can be proved by unimpeachable authority, if denied. This boasted soldier and gentleman of the North is as much a hireling and adventurer as any Hessian in his ranks. If he has any conscience, it rebukes him daily for the base work in which he is employed. When to the pangs of remorse is added the shame of defeat, his condition will be such as even an one-my may pity."

The above paragraph went the rounds of the Northern press, and we have never heard of their charges being met or their challenge accepted by Gen. McClellan or any of his friends.

THE MCCLELLAN MEETING.

The people who call themselves "the Democracy of Boston and vicinity, held a meeting in Faneuil Hall last Saturday evening, to aid the election of George B. McClellan to the Presidency. Great exertions had been made to call together a large gathering, and it was large. The hall was densely crowded, and those who could not get in marched and countermarched in the vicinity, with banners, fireworks, music and shoutings, much to the inconvenience of the speakers and earers within.

The President of the meeting was Mr. Joseph S.

Fay, and the principal speaker was Judge Abbott, one the delegates to the Chicago Convention. Those who wish to read the proceedings in full, can see ex-tended reports in the Post and Journal. I propose here not to describe the meeting, but merely to upon some of its peculiarities.

The chairman of the Committee of Arrangement

who called the meeting to order, was Mr. Peter Harvey, the intimate friend and enthusiastic admirer o Daniel Webster, and, during most of his life, a strong opponent of the Democratic party.

Heading the long list of Vice Presidents was the

name of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, a name thoroughly in contrast with everything democratic, in both the enses of that word, and now brought into connection with the party so called, only through its favor to slavery and its hatred of anti-slavery.

Some resolutions prepared for the occasion were read by Col. Greene, Editor of the Post. The first censures President Lincoln and his Cabinet, the econd praises General McClellan, the third heartily endorses the Chicago Convention, the fourth complains of "the present deplorable civil war," and the fifth rejoices in our victories in that war, and

thanks the soldiers and saliors who are fighting in it. It might seem to an ordinary understanding that there was some discrepancy between the fifth of these resolutions and the two preceding it. But the political party here in question is entirely independent of such considerations. The eaders don't care for discrepancies, and the followers don't perceive them. But the mass of absurdity contained in the fourth of these resolutions is so remarkable as to be worthy of special notice and comment. As printed in the Post.

Resolved, "That the present deplorable civil war is fatal to the Union and the Constitution, and therefore it is the highest duty of the people to preserve their Government, and maintain its integrity in this contest, by all means in their power."

It would be bad enough to have merely no connec tion whatever between premise and conclusion, and to say. Recause vellow and blue make green therefore the statement of two irrelevant true propositions as he meeting, and printed the next morning in the Post, one should say, Because blue and yellow make red,

Even this amount of absurdity does not fully par- volve the progress, the triumph and consur allel the Democratic resolution; for not only is it false that this war is fatal to either Union or Constitution a right to form and express an opinion in the ple is to preserve their Government in this contestnot only are these two propositions, true or false, desor significance with you, I will venture to obtrude it, the plain meaning of the second proposition is diaction of the meeting which voted it. overthrow and destroy it. Their vote upon the resolution, therefore, considering the course they are taking in regard to the existing Government, is as absurd

In the speeches, as in the resolutions, although strong devotion was declared to the Union, little or nothing was said against the rebellion. The Chicago platform was praised as all right, the letter of McClellan was praised as entirely satisfactory, and through all the proceedings of the meeting it was assumed, with an effrontery worthy of the leaders and the party, that there was no contrariety between the platform and the candidate. Just as he ignores the impossibility of riding two horses which go in opposite tions, just so they ignore the absurdity of accepting war candidate on a peace platform. In this one parthe parties, it must be confessed, are well matched.

In some points this meeting bore a striking contrast which had assembled in the same place a short time confidence, who went to war against their own Nationbefore. Very few ladies or women were present in al Government with fiendish recklessness and idiotic the McClellan meeting. A strong force of police were folly. The Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln did not want war; early on the ground, as if in expectation that their did not devise war; but did every thing it could, comservices would be needed. And whereas, in the Repatible with honor and fidelity to sworn trust, to stave publican meeting, a shout raised by opposers for Mc-Ciellan was allowed to pass without interference, in did not really believe that the South earnestly intendthe Democratic one, as soon as a man gave cheers for ed war. It did not credit the ominous and infernal Abraham Lincoln, a furious howl was raised, the ef-declarations of the slaveholding statesmen. And forts of the speaker on the platform and of the Chairman to obtain silence were disregarded, the meeting roared " Put him out," and a tumult of groans and outcries was kept up for five minutes, until the dissenter was forced out of the old Cradle of Liberty.

There was great enthusiasm in the meeting from beginning to end. The chief manifestations of it were called out by the name of McClellan, which was always warmly applauded. Next after this, the strongest demonstrations of feeling came out, on the part of the audience, whenever the speakers expressed disapprobation of the drafting of soldiers, or contempt for the colored population of the country. The "Democracy," as here represented, were plainly a white man's party and a slaveholders' party, as well as a war-peace party .- C. K. W.

The Worcester Freedom Club, at its weekly meeting on Friday the 9th, adopted the following form of inquiry to the Hon. Secretary of State, Wm. H. Sew

RESOLUTIONS OF INOUIRY.

1. Resolved. That the Worcester Freedom Club watching with loyal and patriotic interest not only the course of events, but the utterances and doings of pub lic men as they bear upon public affairs, respectfully asks of the Secretary of State the meaning of that passage in his Auburn speech of Sept. 3d, reported as

follows, viz :-"That when the insurgents shall have disbanded their armies, and laid down their arms, the war will their armies, and laid down their arms, the war will instantly cease—and all the war measures then existing, including those which affect slavery, will cease also; and all the moral, economical and political questions, as well questions affecting slavery as others, which shall then be existing, between individuals, and States, and the Federal Government, whether they arose before the civil war began, or whether they grew out of it, will, by force of the Constitution, pass over to the arbitrament of courts of law, and to the councils of legislation."

2. Resolved, That the Freedom Club anxiously sks if the country is to understand by this that Emancipation, being a war measure, will "instantly cease" with the closing of the war, and only those slaves be emancipated that shall actually have gained their freedom in the course of the war.

3. Resolved, That the entire nation addressed by the Secretary of State in his late Auburn speech upon the eve of the Presidential election, being deeply in positive reply is justly due to the country, through he medium of the public press, in order that the peo ple may know distinctly what is the policy they are called to vote for in voting for what the Secretary argues, viz., the reëlection of the present incumben

The Editor of the Liberator has just return Auburn, N. Y., -- a visit which he has enjoyed "to the loyal people on the one side, and the so-called Conbrim."-and will resume his editorial labors with the next number of his paper.

ENGLISH SENTIMENT ON THE AMERICAN OUESTION.

MARCHESTER. (Eng.) Aug. 27, 1864 To WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq., Boston, Massachusetts, U. S. A.

My DEAR SIR-I cannot refrain from writing few lines of sincere congratulation and earnest sympathy. Our esteemed mutual friend, GEORGE THOMP on, will be able to tell you that I have long been o of your ardent admirers and humble followers in the great cause of universal freedom. I have a vivid nd most pleasant recollection of meeting you and the noble apostles of liberty, Frederick Douglass, Henry C. Wright and George Thompson, on the platform of the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, some eighteen years ago. You will remember the occasion, though you can have no recollection of me, or of writing you autograph for me on the fly-leaf of FREDERICK DOUG-LASS'S NARRATIVE. From that day to this, the fer vent and constant prayer of my heart has been-God bless William Lloyd Garrison, the friend of the

own-trodden and oppressed!" Most intently and affectionately have I watched our career : noted your heroic labors and sacrifices : and exulted in all the noble triumphs and glorious inquests you have been privileged to realize, so far beyond any thing you could at one time have ventured to hope for, or even dream of as possible. ay you look back, and look around, and say, "What hath God wrought!" Truly, the work is God's; but, as truly, you have been a devoted and faithful o-worker. And, verily, you have your reward, in the sublime and extatic consciousness of having been an honorable agent, not a mere blind instrument, of accomplishing great and beneficent results, fraught with incalculable good for all races and all coming ages. For, not alone is the poor slave benefitted then his chain is broken; the slave-master, and all who stand by as consenting on-lookers, (thereby involved in the guilt, suffering and degradation of wrong-doing,) are partakers of the benefits and blessings of EMANCIPATION.

I look upon you, therefore, as the world's benefactor; one of the true Prophets and Priests of Humanity; yea, one of the Universal Kings of Mankind, before whom all souls, loyal to truth, goodness and duty, do glad and willing homage.

But I did not take my pen up to indulge in any obtrusive personal reminiscence, or in mere expressions of gratulation. I rather wished to say a few words to you about the actual, pregnant, momentous

As a British subject, I am conscious that I cann legitimately intrude my opinions, or dogmatize on matters pertaining to the PARTY POLITICS of Amerithe sun rises in the East and sets in the West. But ca. I have no right to say that Mr. Lincoln is, or is not, the most fit and proper man to be elected Presilogically connected does not parallel the present case. dent. I am not in a position to judge in that matter; To make a sentence fairly corresponding to that above quoted, which was read, and applauded, and voted, in

But as one deeply interested in all that deeply affects humanity; and as an Abolitionist, intently and herefore the sun rises in the West and sets in the East. most sympathetically alive to whatever seems to inof the sacred cause of UNIVERSAL FREEDOM, I claim not only is it false that the highest duty of the peoknown, and quite uninfluential, can have no weight titute of connection as premise and conclusion-but because I feel certain that my individual opinion is in harmony with the thoughts and sentiments, aspira metrically opposed to the wish, and purpose, and tions and convictions, of the great bulk of the people Instead of of England who have made themselves at all acque wishing to "preserve" the Government which is now ed with the real facts and the true bearings of the carrying on "this contest," the Democrats are seeking great conflict-social, moral, political and militarynow going on in America; a contest in which th people of the free States are so heroically shedding

their best blood. I am by nature and conviction opposed to all war, and hope to see the day when Christian nations will bind themselves to some more rational and manly method of settling their disputes. Still, I cannot but ecognize that human governments, as constituted, must repel, and, if possible, overpower and subdue armed and desperate Rebels who seek to destroy the Nation's life, by practically asserting the right of se cession and territorial disintegration; and this, not in the direction of further liberty, or of any of her just objects, but for the hideous purpose of rivetting afresh galling fetters that bind an enthralled race, and the extension of a system of chattel slavery, viler and more oppressive than the sun ever shone onstigma, curse and execration of civilization!

It was the Southern Slaveholders, headed by off and avert war. Its great weakness was, that it flag outraged, at that moment, and by that act, the national conscience-the sense of honor, dignity, duty, and all that makes life holy and noble-was fired. It needed not a proclamation from Mr. Lincoln to call men to arms. Mr. Lincoln rather erred in forbearance and hesitancy, and in proclaiming an nadequate sense of the danger and necessity, by calling for only seventy five thousand volunteers for a brief term of enlistment. Had he called for twice the number, and enrolled them for the war, he might have evinced a profounder view of the crisis. Th Southern leaders could not have done, under any circumstances, more than they have done. They have fought with the energy of desperation from the first oment, and they have performed prodigies of valor-I would say heroism, but their cause is so base and brutal, that nothing truly heroic can be predicated of it, without blasphemy against God and Humanity.

You will see from what I have said, that I throw he responsibility and guilt of the war-in its initia tion and precipitation-on the Southern rebels. Im partial History-the voice of God recorded by mannust ever make the rebel leaders responsible for what they deliberately planned, and so recklessly carried int

lom, who yet say that the Federal Government and loyal people, who are wholly in the right, and the Conderates wholly in the wrong, ought to have given way, and allowed the South to secede! But thes good people did not say that our Government ought to have allowed the mutineers of India to prevail, and go in peace; nor would they be willing to allow Ire land to secede, were the attempt again to be made It is easy to bury other people's children, or to con template secession in another country. Every heart knows its own bitterness, and its own deep affection and loyal integrity. It seems to me that the principle of Secession, as a reserved State Right, is as false, pernicious and fatal as the doctrine of the right of murder and suicide; and no nation could exist were such a principle acknowledged and acted upon. I cannot see in your Constitution, or in the Declaration of Rights put forth by its founders, any grounds for the monstrous claims, or any pretext for the enormous crimes of Secessionists. The right of revolution-when a people are resolved and able to throw terested in the answer to this question, a definite and off an odious tyranny-we all admit; but no one can justify a revolution in favor of Slavery. And that Slavery was the great political and social abomination, for the conservation and extension of which the South sought to secede, no one can deny who knows any thing about the facts, and has any regard for truth and decency.

The Editor of the Liberator has just returned those who support the cause, of Freedom. The issue from his recreative visit to Peterboro', Syracuse and at first opened between the Federal Government and federate States on the other side, was one of mere re-sistance to the extension of Slavery. It was a just is-

SEPTEMBER 23

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ERRIT SMITH

write these page hear me; they i who follow truth

The North is divis

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sue, so far as it went, and so far as the North ho ly accepted and adhered to it. It was seen by ma ly accepted and admered to the contest was prolonged, and that such an issue—... both sides were in earnest—must open up the entiquestion, eventually, and lead to the extination question, eventually, and tend to the extrapation slavery, root and branch, in all the States. As the slavery, root and pranch, in all the beauty. As the became obvious and inevitable, the people of king became obvious and mercane, me people of his land—all whose opinions and sympathies are of his weight and worth—freely and cordially ranged then elves on the side of the Federal Gov loyal people of the North. None but those who p er tyranny, however odious, to the triumph of paper ar government, when they know the facts and men of the struggle, can and do take sides with the Sou ern Slaveholders' Confederacy. I have attended very numerous public meetings in our largest ball and have always found the people ready to reposl with heart and hand, to the claims of the loyal and free citizens of the North, and to manifest their free citizens of the Forth, and to mannes the tense abhorrence of the revolt of the Southern by tors and rebels against your just and beneficent stitutional Government—a Government second to a

stitutional Government—a Government second to no in the world, except so far as it had tolerated slave I hope you will continue to do your best to to I hope you will continue to an your west to me vince the people of America, that this is the real at tude of the people of England-whatever the Le don Times, Mr. J. A. Roebuck, or the Southern pr pathizers who have invested in Confederate con loans and blockade-runners, may say to the control These men can make a great noise and stirin to press; but they cannot, they dare not meet the enders of Union and emancipation on the ope public platform. They have their head-quarters here but have never ventured to hold a public meeting in our great Free Trade Hall, that will hold 7000 people One of their least scrupulous champions tried a lec-One of their reast total tickets) in our Mechanics' Institute; but he was so taken aback by the adverse feeling of his audience, that he did not repeat the ex periment there. He made, however, another similar attempt in our Corn Exchange, but met with a will more decided rebuff; so that he had to content bin self by selling a few copies of his lecture in print is atend of delivering it to those who had paid the money for admission to the Hall. This champion disunion was the Rev. Joseph Barker, of whom you know something, and who had the audacity to d nounce you, and those who are acting with you, as inf dels, and as wild, reckless men, who are causing all the evil that he and other equally good men so much deplore. Joseph soon after found that the cause South did not pay well enough to command his ervices and advocacy, and he has therefore goos back to one of his old religious circles, and is no mor heard of in the arena of politics or secular question Love feasts, prayer meeetings, and preachings affor him a more congenial sphere of operation. No street er proof could be given to those who know the anis edents of this singular man, that the Southern cause here is hopeless as a field for agitation, that that he so soon abandoned his missionary operation n behalf of the slaveholders' confederacy. No pe son of real worth or high character has yet come or pefore the public, in his own name, to advocate the cause of the South, out and out. Joseph Barker J A. Roebuck and James Spence are the most notali and conspicuous upholders of disunion the South have found. All that need be said of these men is that their advocacy would not enhance any real good and noble cause in the estimation of those who best know them; whilst, on the other hand the ause of the free North has been advocated without fee or bribe, or hope of reward, by scores and bu ireds of the noblest, purest, and most patriotic of on public men, including the foremost thinkers and workers in the cause of human progress and universal li erty. I need not mention to you the world-honord names of Richard Cobden, John Bright, and many others comprised in the Senatorial phalanz, wh have nobly espoused the Federal cause. You are a o, familiar with the names of John Stuart Mill, Po essors F. W. Newman, J. E. Cairnes, Goldwin Smitl and many others, whose pens and voices have mos ably pleaded the cause of freedom and the North But there are hundreds who are like minded, who are constantly pleading the same cause, though in more restricted areas. I could, from memory, and o and, write down the names of many scores known to myself, who are able and eloquent and entire disinterested advocates of the cause of the North. wish your people could know all this, or could be in duced to believe it; they would then be the better able to bear with the vile taunts that are flung at the from the baser portion of our press, and those of ou ublic men who have no love for liberty, except as it in creases their power to uphold some unjust form oppression or legalised robbery.

But I must conclude this already too extended mmunication, though I have not said several things I intended or wished to say when I commenced. vill try to write you again ere long.

In the mean time, I pray God to bless you, and prosper all the work you are engaged in for Truth,

ustice and Freedom.

Believe me ever, most truly, your devoted friend, THOS. H. BARKER. The writer of the above interesting, instructive and encouraging letter is an earnest friend of the cause of emancipation, and a warm defender of the unti-slavery policy of the present national administration. He is the able and efficient Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, a body organized for the purpose of promoting temperance, by giving to the people, in their several localities, the power of supressing the traffic in intoxicating drinks. Mr. Bar ker is, also, one of the most active members of the Executive Committee of the Manchester Union and Emancipation Society. For some years he has been the friend and correspondent of General Neal Dos, and has given a wide circulation in Great Britain to the letters sent by that gentleman from this country It will be seen that Mr. Barker's views of the merits of the contest now agitating the United States are singularly clear and accurate. We have no doubt that his representation of the state of the public mind of England is equally correct, as few men poseas better means of information, or are qualified to exercise a more impartial judgment. Mr. Barker may feel certain that any future communication vil gratefully welcomed by the Editor of the Librafor, who is now temporarily absent from his post-

* The Boston Investigator, a journal which advocates the infidel opinions of which Mr. Joseph Barker was still recently the champion, speaks as follows of that guil-man, in its issue of the 14th instant:-

G. T.]

"The text which says, "Lay not up for yourself tex ares upon earth,' must have been understand in the che with the 'not' omitted, when he was in the che with the 'not' omitted, when he was in the che was in the che with the che was in th with the 'not' omitted, when he was in a more avarietous or miserly man we never had not been long among the Infidels of hi fore it was plainly enough seen that what h to make himself rich at their expense, raiht vocate their cause. He is one of those men vocate their cause. He is one of those men who, the market, and ready for a job that they deem powill employ their talents on any question, prowhat. will employ their talents on He is a prowhat.

Infidelity cannot change natural propensities, and
when a man's god is the dollar, what is 'bred in
will show itself in the fiesh. Barker is consider
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beams on a frozen fountain. A priestly adventerer
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elose by the golden candlesticks; for while his pions we marve to the golden candlesticks; for which trasure we fixed upon them, he will behold the shining treasure possession is the ninth and a good share of the tests possession is the ninth and a good share of the tests possession.

NOTICE. All pledges made to the Massachii Anti-Slavery Society, prior to last May, are not per able; and, whenever made, their payment will aid of the Society, may be sent to Robert F. Wall most helpful now. Any such, or any co CUT, 221 Washington St., Boston, for the Treasure.

Pledges to the American Anti-Slaver Society

it on the North. ention afford co ratic party is ide tion-st peace with her to be honored guilty party in th hen she is right th North so far if I would, cou th justice. A nati the claims of tru Let me here say t r member of the rthy of condemns hich his country i teous cause, the nst it-to stand as he does by acc I repeat, the quest he North or the S outh took up arm at she robbed it of was only in reply elves. Hence, ensive, on ours it i Il this, the North n e may have oppre ond endurance. I x can be justified. hat it was because ssions that she . Had she such It is said, more in

> she pleased. Wh proper one ? Tha Had the South an y the election of cted constitutions It is true that he wa veral of the Presi ere thoroughly for not claim that she Least all did she ground for Rebellion Was the South at ed, because so muc Slavery? Certainly

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es or secular questions and preachings, afford operation. No strongse who know the ant an, that the Southern missionary operations confederacy.* No peracter has yet come out name, to advocate the out. Joseph Barker, J. ce are the most notable of disunion the South e said of these men is, not enhance any really stimation of those who the other hand, the een advocated without rd, by scores and hunnd most patriotic of our nost thinkers and work gress and universal libyou the world-honored ohn Bright, and many natorial phalanx, who John Stuart Mill. Pro airnes, Goldwin Smith, re like-minded, who are cause, though in more om memory, and offof many scores known eloquent and entirely cause of the North. I all this, or could be in ld then be the better that are flung at them ress, and those of our r liberty, except as it insome unjust form of

not said several things then I commenced. I long. God to bless you, and engaged in for Truth, HOS. H. BARKER. interesting, instructive earnest friend of the warm defender of the sent national adminis-ficient Secretary of the ody organized for the ance, by giving to the ies, the power ting drinks. Mr. Baractive members of the Manchester Union and ome years he has been of General Neal Dow, ion in Great Britain to man from this country. r's views of the merits

United States are sine have no doubt that te of the public mind ect, as few men pos-on, or are qualified to digment. Mr. Barker re communications will e Editor of the Liberapsent from his post.rnal which advocates the foseph Barker was until a follows of that gentle-

of up for yourself tream understood by Joseph understood by Joseph was in the obursh; for a we never knew, and haddels of this country hat had to have the seen and the seen and the propensities, and that propensities, and that propensities and that be bred in the bose ries is a constitutional as of reformers to any ill as of reformers to any ill as cheerless as most-riestly adventure on the country sympathies with the bear of the tree was up, and his orafties to be made out of their was up, and his orafties to the tree this bille. There let him bille, for while his pious see is shining treasure when we have of the tenth pelat

to the Massachusers ast May, are now pay-seir payment will be or any contribution, in to Robert F. Wall-on, for the Treasurer. Anti-Slavery Society

ASSET SMITH ON MCCLELLAN'S NOMINA-TION AND ACCEPTANCE.

write these pages for the candid. Partizans would write trees; they follow party. Those only will hear the follow truth; and who will still follow it at

erer expense to party.

a North is divided—fearfully divided. One por le North is divined. One por house man the South war. Which of them is the great, nay, the only question to be get in the coming election. If the North is the street at the coming election. If the North is the party, then McClellan should be preferred. If then Lincoln. I name them because every South, then associated a nature tiled because ever scentrated on them. McClellan is the candithose who hold the North to be the guilty partherefore, whatever exceptions some o uke to him, all will feel constrained to vote for 80, 100, all who hold that the South is the guilty rill feel it to be their duty to vote for Lincoln them would prefer to vote for Fremont, it gold thereby vote as effectively to defeat the date whose sympathies are with the South. is they now see they cannot do. It is in this hat they much and Cochrane will themselves, notstanding their dislike of some of his measures, of Lincoln. They are too magnanimous to le nal considerations hinder them from voting for and they are too patriotic to withhold a vote ch the salvation of the country calls for. May hasten to inspire their friends with the like maginity and patriotism! So, too, the great influence Wendell Phillips will be brought to the side of Lin in, as soon as he shall see that the man to be elected pust be either Lincoln or a servant of the South. and as is his preference for Fremont, he will not

it work to the destruction of his country. We need not go back of the Convention which nom of Lincoln, to learn that the Union Party lays all blame of the war upon the South. Nor need we back of the Convention which nominated McClellearn that the Democratic party lays all the blame gon the North. The proceedings of the Chicago ation afford conclusive evidence that the Demrention and is identified with the Rebellion; is at with the enemies instead of the friends of the -at peace with the South, and at war with the Nevertheless, it is not to be condemned but her to be honored for this, provided the North is milty party in the war. I am not of those whose "Our country, right or wrong." It is only she is right that I am with her. I can be loyal to North so far only as she is loyal to justice. HI would, could I help her wherein she breaks utice. A nation, like an individual, puts herheroad the reach of help in proportion as she de-

is the claims of truth and righteousness. let me here say that McClellan, no more than any the member of the Democratic party, is necessarily surby of condemnation for opposing the cause in his country is embarked. Nay, if it is an un heous cause, then it is proper in him to stand forth ast it-to stand forth as distinctly and emphaticalwhe does by accepting his nomination at the hands the enemies of that cause.

repeat, the question to be passed upon at the comection is-Which is the guilty party in this war North or the South ? It is admitted that the took up arms to dismember our nation; and lat she robbed it of moneys, forts, guns, and portions our little standing army. It is admitted, too, that sonly in reply to these outrages that we armed gives. Hence, whilst the war on her part is ofive, on ours it is but defensive. Notwithstanding this the North may not be the innocent party; for may have oppressed and provoked the South beendurance. I am slow to admit that any Rebelin a land where there is free access to the ballota can be justified. Nevertheless, if it can be shown it was because she was made to suffer intolerable sions that she flew to arms. I will not condemn Had she such oppressions to complain of?

is said, more in Europe, however, than in Ameri that our high Tariff was a hurden upon the South. a, however, had we a Tariff so nearly approach-Free Trade as when her States began to secede porer, the South could have had it as much lower usbepleased. What, however, if our Tariff were not per one? That, surely, would not be enough to al the South any right to call herself oppressed

the election of Lincoln? None at all. He was ted constitutionally. But he was against slavery his true that he was : only moderately so, however. several of the Presidents immediately preceding him thoroughly for Slavery : and vet the North did in that she was oppressed by their election. lenger all did she claim that their election furnished would for Rebellion.

Was the South at liberty to regard herself oppressd because so much was said at the North against very! Certainly not. The Constitution provides free speech. Moreover, the South spoke as freely quiest our systems of labor as we did against her mery. She specred at our "small-fisted farmers' nd our "greasy mechanics." She stigmatized our oble laborers as "the mudsills of society." Then, in the South helps send missionaries over the earth argue against idolatries and other abominations; thus is she estopped by her own acts from forbid

others to search and criticise herself. Was the South oppressed by Northern legislation and Slavery ! Never. The North was always willof to have the Supreme Court of the United States in mon such legislation. When, however, the North Commissioners to the South to induce her to conest to have the constitutionality of those laws, under shich she was casting Northern freemen into the pit Savery, passed upon by that Court, those Comfinioners had to fly for their lives before the murdertuet made upon them.

But John Brown, and at other times other Northern nes, west into the Southern States to help persons tage from Slavery! The North, however, was not fonsible for this. She ever stood by Slavery, and aped the South tighten the chains of the slaves the right has the South to complain of the sympaof John Brown and others with her slaves. Where e delivered one slave, her kidnappers made slaves in Northern free men. But there was rejoicing at t North over the escape of Southern slaves! I ad-Rit. So was there rejoicing at the South over the supe of Southern men from Algerine Slavery. Such stings cannot be stopped; and all attempts of the South to stop them will be vain attempts to change

Was the South oppressed by the refusal of the ern people to accede to a proposition of the people, to have an amicable separation of to Sales, and an amicable division of the Territories to other National property ? There was no proposi tom the Southern people to the Northern people was a proposition from Southern individuals historized by the Southern people; and it was the hot to our people, but to our Government—to a imment which, instead of being authorized to dis color our nation, is sworn to preserve it, and which, head of being authorized to throw away the Conis sworn to keep it sacred and unbroken people of the North were ready to meet the peo the South in a Convention of Delegates. They ready to make large concessions, in order to save disruption the nation so dear to them. Entirely half they were, I am sorry to believe, to indorse and mate the remarkable action of Congress in fa the remarkable action of Congruenting of the Advantage of In fine, they would have consented to althy demand of the South, short of the sundering tation. This they would not consent to; and, the she knew they would not, the South would here the National Convention. The sundering of tion was the one thing she was intent on; and the one thing she was the accept in it. Hence, to get this one thing, which she not hope to get otherwise, she resorted to arms.

nation for herself and by herself, all other difficulties with the South might have been adjusted, It is in no degree necessary to my argument to explain why she then insisted, has ever since insisted, and never more strenuously than now, on this national independence. Nevertheless, as some, under whose eye this paper may fall might like to meet with the explanation, I ity on the part of the South is to be found in the fact she despairs of maintaining it unless she shall erect herself into a nation independent of every other nation. The South saw Slavery cast out of all Europe and all American Slavery except her own to be tottering. She saw, too, that the North was every day be coming more enlightened in regard to Slavery, and therefore more hostile to it. Hence the great and ab- loyalty to liberty, and to the Administration in its efsorbing question with her was-what she should do

Herein, and herein only, is the explanation of the out-

brought to recede from her determination to set up a

most effectually to insulate herself, and shut out those ever swelling floods of Anti-Slavery sentiment and in upon her. Her natural decision was to build up about herself the high, and, as she hoped, impervious walls of a new nationality. The North she regarded as already abolitionized. To remain, therefore, in connexion with her was to allow herself to be aboliwhat else would she have consented to break off from it, and to lose the incalculable advantage of being a part of this great nation?

know not that there is anything more of this bearing to refer to, has the South suffered intolerable oppressions? Nay, has she suffered any oppression? None whatever. In our national affairs she was generally allowed to have her own way. I admit that we wronged her; but never even in the slightest degree did we oppress her. And the only way in which she was ever wronged by us was our shameful indulgence of both her tyrannous spirit, and her greed of place and power. Surely, surely, then, the North is not to be accused of provoking the Rebellion. Surely, surely, then, the South is the guilty, and the only guilty party in the Rebellion. And surely, surely, then, the North cannot, without making herself very criminal and very base, vote for the candidate of those who hold the North, and not the South, to be the guilty

But it may be said that their candidate (Gen. Mc-Clellan) does not hold, in this respect, as they do who nominated him. If he does not, then is he very unfortunate in being misrepresented by his friends, who put him forth as the representative of themselves, and who, it is fair to suppose, knew him thoroughly when they do so. Since the Northern men, who espouse the cause of the South, single out McClellan for their standard bearer, it would be madness in us, who cleave to the cause of the North, to believe him to be with us, and to vote for him. If he is indeed a North-side man, nevertheless since they, who know him, have set him forth as a South-side one, he cannot complain of us for not voting for him. He can complain but of his friends who have misrepresented him, and whose misrepresentations justify us in withholding our votes

But we are cited to McClellan's Letter of Accept

apce. That it is a Letter of Acceptance is, of itself, sufficient to disentitle him to the vote of every loyal man. That he is the candidate of a Convention composed of the open enemies of that cause for which his country is pouring out her treasure and her bloodcomposed of those whose war is upon the North only -is surely reason enough why no intelligent friend of that cause can give him his vote. But we will look further into this Letter. I said that the North is di vided between those who hold the North, and those who hold the South, to be the guilty party. On which side does McClellan's Letter place him? It spares the South but it abounds in inculpations of the North. The indirect and unmanly way in which he makes, or rather insinuates, his charges against the Govern ment was doubtless intended to render them more of fective. It will, however, serve but to denote the lack of an open, brave and manly spirit in their author. He has nothing to say of the barbarity with which the South conducts the war-murdering fresh captivesor, if sparing them, sparing thousands to be tortured in snirit and body, thousands to be starved to death. and (worst fate of all !) thousands to be snnk in slavery. Nothing of all this does he say. But, in his characte istic cowardly, roundabout way, he accuses the North Slavery zealots have shown their disposition to persay that miserable men are all they who, when monone question of putting down these monsters conditions in behalf of or against Slavery, habeas corpus or something else. "Down with the Rebellion, come what will of it to any of our schemes or theories or interests!" is the voice of wisdom. Moreover, if Slavery or Anti-Slavery, this or that political party, this or that church, shall be found to stand in the way of putting it down, let them all be swept out of the way. Nothing is worth preserving, that stands in the way of putting down so unmitigated and unparalleled a wickedness as the Rebellion. When it shall have been put down will be time to decide, (and not till then will it be time so much as to consider it.) whether the safety of the nation shall call for the weakening or strengthening of Slavery, for its utter annihilation or for overspreading the whole land with it. In the meantime, use Slavery or Apprenticeship, or anything else, in whatever way you can use it most effectually to the crushing of the Rebellion; and let all heads, all hearts,

one work to that end. I admitted that there were instances of a disposition to pervert the war. But by far the most signal of all of perverting it even to the direct help of the rebels, his mediating military career—his half-one-way and half-the-other way Generalship-with a proclamation was most vulnerable and most alarmed. He it was who assured the slaveholders that he would guard their who assured the stavenous them service insurrection, and who thereby left them free to go forth to the slave-breeding traitors for peace, and to call them back into the Union by offering to pay their war. whose duty, instead of ministering peace and security to the enemy, was to leave him appalled and paralyzed which they have advanced to the rebels to fit out pi with every possible terror-and now for him, I say, to throw out, in his cowardly way, his utterly false charge blot out the United States from the map of the world that the Government has perverted the war, is enough to make the soul of every honest man boil over with the Democratic party, in 1860, would not yield to the indignation. Very far am I from saying that McClellan should have favored servile insurrection: But I do say, that he should have left the slaveholders to all a free ballot. That the majority shall rule is the basis their fears from their slaves, and to all that occupation of all Democratic or Republican institutions. Against of their thoughts and time which those fears called for. I add, that his relieving them of those fears and and resorted to civil war to establish the rule of the of that occupation was treason to his country—was minority, and to subjugate the majority to the minor even literal treason-for it was "adhering to her ene-

mies, giving them aid and comfort." [Remainder in our next number.]

LETTER FROM HENRY C. WRIGHT. LAKE ST. MARY, Mich., Sept. 11, 1864.

W. L. GARRISON: My FRIEND,-I am once more in the cottage-ho of Henry Willis, on the shore of one of the most beautiful lakes I ever saw. It is indeed a gem of purest water on the bosom of Michigan. It is four miles from the city of Battle Creek, one of the most flourishing inland young cities of the West, on the will give it. The whole explanation of this pertinac-ity on the part of the South is to be found in the fact that she is determined to maintain slavery, and that parents and children—and many others, this has been the home of radical abolitionism, of reverence for hu man rights, and of sympathy for the most oppresse and outcast of all the sons and daughters of God-the negro—the American slave. Now, of course, in this hour of peril to freedom and free institutions, the city of Battle Creek, with its environs, is the home of forts to crush the rebellion and restore the Union in

its integrity, without slavery.

I came here last week from Sturgis, Cold Water ever swelling noods of Anti-Slavery sentiment and Anti-Slavery influence which were constantly pouring in upon her. Her natural decision was to build up the Chicago Platform, and the Relations of the Peace Democracy to Slavery and the Rebellion. Yesterday the 10th, I spoke to a large crowd gathered in the streets, and again, in the afternoon, from the balcon of the Battle Creek Hotel. In the evening, I spoke tionized. Hence she broke off from the North. For to a still larger crowd from the same place on the Chicago Platform, and the pro-slavery, treasonable and murderous antecedents of Rynders, Wood, Sev mour, Vallandigham & Co., who framed and adopted In all this, which I have now referred to, and I that platform, and called and managed the Convention that nominated McClellan for the Presidency of the United States. This forenoon, I lectured again in the city, then came home with Henry Willis to spend a night, and rest for twenty-four hours, to bathe in the pure waters of St. Mary's Lake, and to breathe the fresh, clear air that ripples its pure surface, and waves the tops of the forest oaks that encircle it. To morrow evening, I lecture in Harmonia; then go on my way to the region of Detroit, to lecture on the Democratic Platform and Party, in their relations to slavery and the rebellion.

By the way, there was one feature of the Convention of traitors in Chicago which I forgot to name in the account I sent you. August Belmont, the agent and partner of the European banking house of the Rothschilds, was the recognized leader and manager of that Convention. It was his money that brought a thousand New York and Philadelphia ruffians to Chicago, headed by Isaiah Rynders, to howl and hoot down all opposition to McClellan. His wealth bought up McClellan by furnishing him a princely establishment in New York. His wealth furnished the means for the torchlight procession and fireworks, all o which were imported from New York. August Belmont brought together and shaped all the doings and conclusions of that Convention. At one hotel, seventeen hundred persons dined, the day the platfor was adopted, at two dollars each, at his expense. He was fierce in his denunciations of the war and the emancipation policy of the Administration. He in sisted that the rebels could not and ought not to be coerced into subjection to the Constitution and laws: that the only just and safe way to restore the Unic was for the North to concede all the slave-monger demand; to offer them an armistice, and propose to them that, if they will return to their allegiance, the Federal Government will assume and pay their war debt. give you these facts as they were stated and believed by all parties during the progress of that Cor

What was the motive that prompted Belmont to spend one hundred thousand dollars on that Conven tion? The European banking house of which he is the great agent and partner in this nation have in. vested, as all parties asserted, about one hundred mil lions of dollars in Confederate stocks. If the rebellion is crushed by military power, every dollar of this investment is gone forever. If the rebels can be brought back by an armistice, and by concessions or the part of the North, and an offer to assume and pay their war debt, the investment of the Rothschilds secure. Hence not one word was uttered by that Convention, in its speeches or resolutions, in favor of stitution, but every thing was said and done to favo a restoration of the Union by compromise, and by offering to pay their war debt.

Thus, simply and solely to secure to the house of the Rothschilds the money furnished by them to the rebels, to aid them to destroy the Republic and found a slave empire on its ruins, that Chicago Convention of the high crime of perverting the war. I grant was governed in its conclusions. The only definite point of the platform is hostility to the war and emancivert it, and innumerable instances in which Pro Sladefinite point made in all their speeches. August very zealots have shown the like. Just here let me Belmont, to secure the payment of the debt due from the rebels to the house of Rothschilds, dictated the incapable of making a single and square issue with those monsters, and are intent on mixing up with the Belmont rave and swear like a fiend over the fall of Fort Morgan and Atlanta? Why is it that the Democratic partisans have not one word of cheer over news of success to Federal arms? Not a salute i fired nor a cheer given by them over the victories of Farragut, Sherman and Grant.

The policy of the Peace Democracy is shaped solely with a view to secure to the Rothschilds the funds they have invested in Confederate loans. Must the people of the North pay the debt contracted by the slave-mongering traitors, South and North, to get means to murder our sons and brothers, and abolish freedom and free institutions? This they must do, so sure as Belmont and his Peace Democracy get possession of the Federal Administration. Pause, laboring men of the North, and, before you vote fo McClellan, ask yourselves whether you are willing to pay the house of Rothschilds for furnishing the slaveeding pirates with the means to cut your throats "Down with Lincoln, by ballots if we can, by buland all hands find their one thought, one feeling, and lets if we must!" "Resist the draft by arms and blood!" "Disband the army!" "The rebellion cannot and ought not to be crushed by military pow-

er!" "No coercion to subjugate the South to the the instances of the actual perverting of the war, and Constitution 1" "Restore the Union by yielding to the South what they demand !" "Restore the Union is that of McClellan himself. He it was who began by compromise, by armistice, and by a Convention of the States!" Such were and are the mottoes and watchwords of the Chicago Convention and of the of safety to the fee at that very point where the fee Peace Democracy. They call on the North now, in the midst of victory and final triumph over the rebelswell rebellion's battling hosts. And now for him debt! And all this that August Belmont and his ratical ships to pray on our commerce, and armies to

> rule of the majority. Abraham Lincoln was elected this principle the Democratic party rebelled in 1860, ity. What has filled the nation with widows and or

phans? The Democratic party refused to submit to the decision of a free ballot, which gave a majority for Lincoln and Liberty. What has sent anguish to DR. HEBBARD'S LECTURES. The special attention | the hearts of so many mothers and desolation to so of our readers in Boston and vicinity is called to the advertisement of Dr. Hebbard, in another column, mit to the rule of the majority, and resorted to arms, in which he announces a course of ten lectures, to be to plunder and murder, to compel the majority to sub-

given at the Tremont Temple, commencing on Monday evening next, Sept. 26, on Physical Education

—applied to mental and moral improvement, and splendidly illustrated with a cabinet of Manikins and triumph to freedom and free labor before Jan. 1st, Models, costing over \$15,000. These lectures have been delivered in various parts of the United States with great success and to universal acceptance. [1865, aimply by giving to the emancipation and war policy of the Administration an overwhelming majority in November. On the triumph of the Peace

Democrats, means the absolute and hopeless subjuga-tion of freedom to slavery, of free labor to slave la-

Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Iowa, to aid in beneficence to all. defeating Lincoln at the ballot in November. I have of traitors and aliens. Tens of thousands who have refused to take out certificates of citizenship to avoid the draft, are determined to vote; and the Democratic party is pledged to secure to them the right to vote, officers hostile to the negro and his freedom; by luke "to have a free fight."

mmunity seems impressed with a foreboding of an American Republic fall to rise no more, and a slave freed slaves and the negro soldiers be returned to slavery ; so surely will Marvland, Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Virginia West be consigne to the hell and horrors of slavery, if by arms and blood the Peace Democracy can effect this object. Compel every man and woman to show where they stand-whether for the Republic or the Confederacy, for Freedom or Slavery, for Jesus or for Barabbas 'He that is not for me is against me." No neutrali ty! So says Jesus.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LETTER FROM FREDERICK DOUGLASS

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON ESO . DEAR SIR,-You were pleased to remark in the last number of the Liberstor, (heading it with "Frederick Douglass on President Lincoln,") that the seces sionist newspapers in Great Britain are publishing with exultation a letter recently addressed by Mi Douglass to an English correspondent; and you fur ther favor your readers with an extract from the same letter, which criticises in plain terms the policy of the present Administration towards the colored people of the country.

I am sure you will allow me space in the column of the Liberator, (not to qualify, not to take back any charge, statement, or argument contained in that letter, not even to find fault with its publication here or elsewhere .- though it was flung off in haste, and was not written for publication, but for the eyes of the steemed friend to whom it was addressed,) to remove an inference respecting my present political course, which may possibly and will probably be drawn from In the first place, it is proper to state that that let-

er was not written recently as you mistakenly allege, be used against the present Administration in the canvass and issues as now made up between the great parties, and especially by the disloyal and slavery perpetuating nominations placed before the country by the Chicago convention. Since the date of those ominations, we are met by a new state of facts, and new considerations have arisen to guide and control the political action of all those who are animated by a incere desire to see justice, liberty, and peace peranently established in this rebellion and slaver cursed land. While there was, or seemed to be, the lightest possibility of securing the nomination and election of a man to the Presidency of more decided anti-slavery convictions and a firmer faith in the immediate necessity and practicability of justice and equality for all men, than have been exhibited in the policy of the present Administration, I. like many ther radical men, freely criticised, in private and in public, the actions and the utterances of Mr. Lincoln, and withheld from him my support. That possibility s now no longer conceivable; it is now plain that this country is to be governed or misgoverned during the next four years, either by the Republican party represented in the person of Abraham Lincoln, or by the (miscalled) Democratic party, represented by George B. McClellan. With this alternative clearly before us, all hesitation ought to cease, and every man who wishes well to the slave and to the country should at once rally with all the warmth and earnest ness of his nature to the support of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, and to the utter defeat and political annihilation of McClellan and Pendleton; for the election of the latter, with their known antein the Chicago platform, would be the heaviest calamity of all these years of war and blood, since it would upon the instant sacrifice and wantonly cast away everything valuable, purchased so dearly by the precious blood of our brave sons and brothers on the battle-field for the perfect liberty and permanent

peace of a common country.

Let me say one other word. I would never give intentionally the slightest joy to the enemies of human liberty. My rule is to do that least that they like most, and that most that they like least, But nothing strange has happened to me in the said exultation over my words by the secessionist newspapers in Great Britain or elsewhere. The common example of those who do not go at all, playing off those who go farthest against those who go, but do not go fast and far enough, is but repeated in this exultation ; and if I mistake not, in other days, there were often utterances of the Liberator itself, both on the eve and in the middle of Presidential campaigns, which caused even greater exultation among the known enemies of liberty against timid, short-sighted and trimming anti-slavery men in the high places of the country, than anything I ever wrote concerning Mr. Lincoln and his Administration could produce.

Yours for freedom and the equal rights of all men. FREDERICK DOUGLASS. ROCHESTER, N. Y., Sept. 17, 1864.

THE FREEDMEN IN LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS, (LA.,) Sept. 6th, 1864. MY DEAR MR. GARRISON,-I enclose for your perusal a brief account of our work, in the "Board of

Education," created under "Order 38," issued by Major General Banks. Many of our friends at the North seem to be "posessed" by some spirit of hostility to whatever we do in this Department, that disqualifies them for any just judgment in the case. They seem to be move

Democracy hangs the last and only hope of the rebels issued an "Order," since I have been here,-nearly and their European allies. Peace, in the mouths of two years,—that was to affect the social or political

status of the negro, without consulting me.

That abuses exist is possible, probably, inevitable, in bor, of free society and free institutions to slave so-ciety and slave institutions, over the nation and the drifting in every stage of wreck. But such abuses ontinent.

It is computed that fifty or seventy-five thousand the labor and education of the colored man, but they aliens and rebels from the South will be present in exist because we have not yet been able to extend i

It is a singular thing that our friends forget that the no doubt, from what I have seen and known, that there will be more, unless the Union loyal party take the effect of the Proclamation of Emancipation. prompt measures to protect the ballot from the votes Slavery had all its old prestige advanced by that very

We were met by slaveholders with the law and the warm friends; by the cupidity of commerce; by the Dear Garrison,-In every place I visit, the entire hatred of race and contempt for "condition;" by the timidity of the Government; by Phillips, with Ithuimpending terrible calamity. Well they may; for riel's spear, and Pillsbury, with Thor's hammer; by so surely as the Peace Democracy triumph on the 8th of November, and elect McClellan, so surely will the want of money, and of men to labor;—and ye we have succeeded, and we shall succeed.

In the old days of Auti-Slavery, we used to say be reared upon its ruins; so surely will the that the testimony of the colored man was the test ares and the negro soldiers be returned to sla- against the system. His testimony should be as con clusive now, on the other side. It is unanimous here, d except among a class of colored people who, with all their admirable qualities, have not yet forgotten that they were, themselves, slaveholders, and who have not attained to all the graces and the wisdom o

> If our friend Wendell Phillips would go with me over this "Delta," where everything is as formative is the soil beneath our feet-meeting at every turn the tremendous "facts" of the time and place should hear no more from him of "Serfdom," and other "changes" of the London Times. About a reek thereafter, his Dorian periods would round to our praise, and his classic habit might be once more allied to justice. We'll wait and work.

Justice. We ...
Affectionately yours,
B. RUSH PLUMLY. The gratifying Educational Exposé referred by Major Plumly we shall publish next week !

LETTER FROM A NOBLE WOMAN.

HUNTLY LODGE, EDINBURGH, Sept. 1, 1864. MY DEAR FRIEND,—It has greatly surprised and grieved me to see that some of your old friends and allies have so far forgotten one of the leading principles of the Anti-Slavery movement-the freedom of hought and speech-as to withdraw their support from the Liberator, and even utter words of harsh ness and intolerance towards yourself,-for no other eason than that you have exercised the right of forming and giving expression to your own opinion on th question. Who is the fittest man to fill the Presiden

Though the fact, that the South is in violent opposition to Mr. Lincoln, and the copperhead journals of the North loud in praise and support of Mr. Fremont, is, to my mind, a somewhat speaking one, I feel tha it is not for me to venture an opinion on a question so vast and so complicated; especially seeing that some of the truest and best friends of the slave have come to conclusions so widely different on the subject.

But I am puzzled to discover on what rational ground the Anti-Slavery integrity, either of yourself or of our excellent friend, Wendell Phillips, is to be measured by your allegiance to the one, or your rejection of the other. Surely, you have each given proof most abundant by your labors and sacrifices or behalf of the slave, that, in taking whichever view notive which has all along been your guiding starthe aim to obtain and secure equal rights and liberties to the black man as to the white; and that if in error, the error must be in judgment, not in principle.

When, however, so far from thus judging of the ourse you have seen it right to take in the present crisis, you are accused of having abandoned the of the slave, some of us, who have been readers o the Liberator for the last eight and twenty years, and who have watched, with increasing admiration, the utter forgetfulness of self with which you have ever emembered those in bonds as bound with them, till we have come to look upon you as the greatest of iving moral heroes, must be allowed to regard charges like these-coming from old adherents-as simply absurd; indicative merely of some great and not very desirable change in the temper of their own minds.

But it does give me deep pain and anxiety to learn, that a grave probability exists that the glorious " pio neer sheet" may have to be discontinued, in conse creased expenses attendant on its maintenance.

In token of my longing desire-that such may never be the case until the grand result it has done so much to bring about may be fully accomplished—the song of freedom to every man, woman and child be heard throughout the whole of your once United States-I enclose a draft for £10 sterling on Mesers. Brown, Brothers & Co., Boston.

Always sincerely and affectionately, Your friend, ELIZABETH P. NICHOL.

A GREAT AND TELLING VICTORY

HARPER'S FERRY, Va., Sept. 20—11.40 A. M. Hon E. M. Stanton:

I have just received the following official dispatch from Gen. Sheridan, dated at 1 o'clock this morning:

General: We fought Early from daylight until between 6 and 7 P. M. We drove him from Opequan Creek, through Winchester, and beyond the tween 6 and 7 P. M. We drove him from Opequan Creek, through Winehester, and beyond the town. We captured from 2500 to 3000 prisoners, five pieces artillery, nine battle-flags, and all the rebel wounded and dead. Their wounded in Winchester amounts to 6000. We lost in killed Gen. David Russell, commanding division in Sixth army corps; wounded, Generals Chapman, McIntosh and Upton.

The rebels lost in killed the following General officers: Gen. Rhodes, Gen. Wharton, Gen. Gordon and Gen. Ramseur.

ien. Ramseur. We have just sent them flying through Winchester

We are after them to morrow.

This army behaved splendidly.

I am sending forward all medical supplies, subsisence stores and all ambulances.

(Signed) JOHN D. STEVENSON, Brig. Gen.

Washington, Sept. 20. By order of the Secretary of War, a salute of one hundred guns was fired from Franklin Square at noon to-day, in honor of Gen. Sheridan's great victory.

Gen. Grant has ordered the army under his command to fire a salute of 100 guns at 7 o'clock to-morrow morning, in honor of Sheridan's great victory.

A dispatch just received from Gen. Sherman at Atlanta says: "Everything continues well with us."

do in this Department, that disqualifies them for any just judgment in the case. They seem to be moved by the spirit of — —, of the Staff of your good Governor Andrew, who once said, in my hearing, that "he would not approve anything General Banks did, if he knew it was right."

Too busy for defence, and too much in earnest to recriminate, we can wait until our labors result, and then send you,—as I do now,—the irresistible figures. So much is sure: there is not in history a record of any disenthrailed race or people who have taken steps so strong, so rapid, and to places of such power and permanence, as those of the people of color in the Department of the Gulf, under the wise and steady administration of Major General Banks.

If there is any point of salient "Restoration" or "Reconstruction," which includes the colored man visible in the ruin of this Rebellion, it has been forced up from this "Delta" by the rule of the Commanding General of the Department.

The whole system which has organized the social chaos—has evolved labor and health from the wide spread indolence, license, and disease of a disruptured society—is the work of the General.

If there are in the system any deliberate inhumanities, any disregard or oppression of the colored man because he is colored, they are more my fault than the fault of the General; for having confidence in my life-time Anti-Slavery, and my real regard for the colored man as a character, General Banks has never a face of the properties of the death. He was was member of the Board of Brokers in this city, which body, upon being informed of his death, without transacting any business, adjourned.—Trascolored man as a character, General Banks has never the colored man as a character, General Banks has never the colored man because he is colored, they are more my fault than the reference on the real in the case of the Banks has never the colored man as a character, General Banks has never the colored man as a character, General Banks has never the colored man as a character, G

PARKER FRATERNITY LECTURES. SEVENTE SERIES.

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On Tuesday Evening, Oct. 11, 1864. To be followed on successive Tuesday Evenings by

Oct. 18-OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM. Oct. 25-ANNA E. DICKINSON.

Nov. 1-OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. Nov. 15-DAVID A. WASSON.

Nov. 22-To be announced. Nov. 29-CHARLES G. AMES. Dec. 13-JACOB M. MANNING Dec 20 .- HENRY WARD BEECHER.

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Tickets admitting one person to the Course, at \$2 each. Cheeks for SEATS RESERVED TILL 7 1-2 O'CLOCK, \$1 50 For sale at Oliver Ditson & Co's, 277 Washington street; ohn C. Haynes & Co's, 33 Court street, John S. Rogers's,

1071 Washington street, and at the Anti-Slavery Office. Chocks for Reserved Seats for sale only at Oliver Diton & Co's, and at John S. Rogers's. Only an average quality of seats will be reserved, (the ast section of the hall,) leaving the same quality of seats

(the west section) for those who do not purchase reserved

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By DR. W. WALLACE HEBBARD. LECTURE 1st, ON MONDAY EVENING, SEPT. 26, AT TREMONT TEMPLE.

LECTURE 2d, Sept. 27. On the Skin and Hair, Causes and Cure of their Diseases, Preservation of the Hair, Bathing, Dress, &c. LECTURE 3d, Sept. 28.

On the Bones and Muscles, Causes and Cure of weak-LECTURE 4th, Sept 29. On the Digestive Organs, Mouth, Throat, Stomach and

Liver, and Causes and Cure of their diseases. &c. LECTURE 5th, Sept. 30. On Animal Heat, Nutrition, Influence of Diet on health,

trength, long life, &c. LECTURE 6th. Oct. 1. On the Heart, Causes and Cures of its Diseases, Circulaion of the Blood, &c.

LECTURE 7th, Oct. 3. On the Lungs, Causes and Cure of Weak Lungs, &c., Asthma, Bronchitis, Consumption, Ventilation, &c. LECTURE 8th, Oct. 4.

On the Brain and Nerves, Causes and Cure of Nervous Diseases, Influence of Education on Health, Long Life, &c. LECTURE 9th, Oct. 5. On the Organs of the Sense, Eye, Ear, Nose and their

Diseases, Causes and Cure of Catarrh. &c. LECTURE 10th, Oct. 6. On the Temperaments, Character, Beauty of Expression

and its Cultivation, Influence of Sunlight on Health, &c. EXTRA LECTURES. LECTURE 11th, Oct. 7. To Ladies only-On Women and her Diseases, Causes

and Cure-splendidly illustrated. LECTURE 12th, Oct. 8. To Gentlemen only—On the Origin of Life, and the Laws of Hereditary Descent—"Like Father like Child."

LECTURE 13th, Oct. 10. To Ladies only-On Maternity, and the influence of

fothers on the character of their Children. LECTURE 14th, Oct. 11. To Gentlemen only-On Manhood, and the causes and seans of preventing premature decline, &c.

Course Tickets at \$1.25—Single admission 15 cents—

may be had at the door, and at Bookstores. MERCY R. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to Dover street. Particular attention paid to Diseases o

Women and Children. References .- Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

Abington, 70e; South Abington, H. H. Brigham, \$1 30; East Princeton, 2 67; Upton, 56c; West Wrentham, F.

M. Cheever, 1, others, 3.57-4 57.

MARRIED-In Auburn, N. Y., on Wednesday evening, Sept. 14th, at the home of the bride, by Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Jr., of Boson, to ELLEN, daughter of David and Martha C. Wright. At Kanona, Steuben Co, N. Y., on the 7th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Coolboy, Mr. STEPHEN K. BARTON, of Philmont, N. Y., to Miss MARY E. NEALLY, of the former place.

DIED-In Chelsea, Sept. 18, ARTHUR BROWN, son of M. W. and S. E. Yerrinton, 11 months.

Young Ladies' Boarding-School. Dio LEWIS, A. M., M. D., will open a Boarding-School at Lexington, Mass., on the first day of Oc-

Joseph 18 Lexington, mass, on the area day of tobor, 1884.

Isaac N. Carleton, A. M., for several years teacher of Latin, Greek and Mathematics in Phillips's Academy, Andover, Mass., will be the Resident Principal, and will devote himself wholly to the work of instruction. Mrs. Carleton, a tried and successful teacher, will instruct in

French.

Ma. Theodore D. Weld, for many years Principal of the Eagleswood School in New Jersey, will have charge of an important department.

In all the approved features of the best schools nothing will be wanting, while it is Dr. Lewis's special aim to illustrate the possibilities in the department of physical

raining.

Parents having daughters of delicate constitutions to ducate are invited to send to Dr. Dio Lawis, Lexington, or a Circular.

Lexington, Sept. 8. MISS H. M. PARKHURST'S BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL

FOR YOUNG LADIES, Newsung, N. Y. The Fall Term will commence on Wednesday, Aug. 26-2w

MR. AND MRS. D. MACK'S Family Boarding-School for Young Ladies,

AT ORCHARD HILL, BELMONT, MASS. THE School will commence the last Monday of September. Siroulars and references when requested.

ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW, OTTAWA, La Salle Co., Illin Special attention given to securing and collecting laims for Eastern Merchants.

References:
WHYDELL PHILLIPS, Bsq., Boston.
A. L. PAINE, Esq., Suffolk Bank, do.
FARWELL, FIELD & Co., Chicago, Illinois
STEVENS & BARNUN, Washington, D. C.

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wards of merit or honorable exer

wark as to fall below the equal prote weak as to fall below the equal prote nor one so lofty as to challenge their church or bishop able to impose cree

the unconvinced conscience; r worship which is unprotected by liberty stands, and the law supp

lar education lends intelligence order to liberty; while religion,

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of the Infinite, is left free to impr

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Your past history is a record of m

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rise more than two thirds the are England States. Deepen and

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foundations of your seminaries and sing. Encourage genius as well as in hither, and hold here, the prof.

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discoverers of knowledge are like prophet ing but seldom, and on great occasions; it nius is an intellectual century plant; ar who would make the time great, and the

ble, must not confound the mere d

knowledge, with those conquests and as which flow from patient and original explo

"It taketh away or mitigateth fear of deaf

"It taketh away or mitigateth lear of deal adverse fortune, which is one of the greatest pediments of virtue and imperfections of mane For if a man's mind be deeply seasoned with consideration of mortality and corruptible as

of things, he will easily concur with Epici went forth one day and saw a woman we

per pitcher of earth that was broken, and w

Happy the man who doth the causes know

Of all that is; serene he stands, above All fears; above the inexorable Fate, And that insatiate gulf that roars below.

It were too long to go over the particular ies which learning doth minister to all the di

digestion, sometimes increasing

self each day a better man than he was the

to account, nor the

before. The good parts he hath he will le show to the full, and use them dexterously, but

much to increase them; the faults be bath h

ed man it fares otherwise, that he doth ever

mix the correction and amendment of his mind

You may turn your backs in jealousy of

on Bowdoin and Dartmouth, and Harr Brown and Yale. You may set the village

above Cleveland or Silliman or Agas

when you have declined the scep

sissippi or the Cumberland.

you have not made the Merrimac or

cut pavigable like the Ohio the Missouri,

any narrow competition, nor by

faculties of men. Let thoughtless t

pose to leave out New England in the cold, if choose; I think the world will keep a warm

commonplace facts, elementary

I congratulate all ingenious cul-

ment of Col

For the Liberator. THE TWO SLAVES.

BY AUGUSTA COOPER KIMBALL. I knew a man who thought that he was free : No law controlled him save the statutes clasped In the mysterious volume of the mind,-His soul the page, and God the Publishe His love was like a river, (so he said,) Finding its meadow-place of endless green Wherein to flow;—not pumped or forced to run, Or turned into a special bounded course; Affection's law was spontaneity. He knew no fear. The demands of the soul Were the commands of God. I reverenced him. For Freedom was to me the electric word That flashed my being into purer life ;-The Queen of Principles, whose angel guard Were Love and Purity. And so I felt A sense of worship; for it seemed to me The man in the grand freedom of his soul Had grown a deity, or towered up, And linked hands with the Infinite

I know not how it happened. I am sure I did not play the part of Vivian, To tease a secret from him, or beguile His spirit with the witching charm of love. It matters not. One day I found myself Before the palace of his soul, with keys To open every secret corridor, Or Blue-Beard room. I timidly advanced, With an excess of reverence, through the gates Of polished beauty, and the vestibule Of crystal whiteness, to the inner room Where dwelt the guardian spirits of the place Heaven witness! Like Fatima, faint I stood, Appalled at what I saw. From the great height Of worship I fell down, and angels sure Bore me up softly, with a pitying love For my sad disappointment and my fall.

I looked for Freedom, -for the palace Queen, -And found her. O'er her radiant brow was fixed The regal coronet, and her clear eye Had the unflinching glance of valor. But God gave me tears when I beheld the gyves And manacles she wore, perverting and Deforming half her beauty. Some rude flend, With restless eye that flamed with hungry fire, Was riveting her fetters; and I shrank To read the letters on his low, red brow, Spelling this one word,-" Lust."

I looked for Love, The sweetener of all life, hoping to find A glowing health upon her lip and cheek, And in her eye the sacred light of trust. But when I found her, she threw out at me The quick glance of suspicion, and her hand Held up a glittering blade in poison dipped, With which she pierced herself. Poor maniae! I turned away, yet not till I had learned That the 'graved name upon the dagger's hilt Was "Jealousy."

I looked for Purity. With anxious, hopeful glance; and when I saw Her tearful eyes were always fixed on Heaven, I half forgot that her transparent robe Was trailing in the dust. Her pearly skin Shone with a glossy whiteness, only here And there a drop fell on her as of blood, Burning and eating to a cankering sore. And then I saw that over all her form A crimson hand shook those corroding drops, And on the wrist, in characters of fire, Was "Selfishness"—the owner's autograph. I searched no further for celestial guards, Nor dared explore the winding passages

Within that spirit palace. Darkened beams From the great sun of Truth came struggling in Through the thick dust of Error, and I longed To sweep away the cobweb and the filth, So that the one true light might glad the place. But tearful I turned back, and sadly passed Out from the entrance gate; then waking up As from a dreamy trance, I stood beside The man whose life was free, and touched his arm Softly, with pity melting through my eyes, Saying, "Poor slave! the abuse of Freedom binds With self-wrought fetters the intemperate soul." Then I went thoughtful on my weary way, While he, as if I were a weak, strange thing, looked after me, half curious and surprised, With the same smile he would have given a child. I tarried in the South-land's sultry clime,

Where light is married to vitality To generate the glowing tropic flowers. life in the ma Exhaled a breath of balm, and the light winds In perfumed gales sought out the cotton fields, To whisper in the patient bondman's ear A hint of freedom. Every day I passed In my accustomed walk a toiling slave, Who, to his master's wish obedient, Picked at the downy produce of the field, From early dawn till night. At last he grew To know me as I passed; would raise his head, And nod a recognition, with a smile U pon his swarthy features, and a light Lying deep down in his dark lustrous eyes, Betraying secrets of an inner life. How my heart stirred with pity when I saw The traces of the lash upon his back, A brand upon his shoulder, and a scar U pon his ankle where a chain had been But it was long ago those marks were made," He always said, whene'er I questioned him ; And I would go my way, praying for him,

One moonlight eve I passed his cabin door Some impulse drew me nearer, and I saw The bondman in the attitude of prayer. f glided in, and took the vacant stool Just by his side, and closing up my eyes, I shut the outer world away, and Into a quiet trance 'twixt life and death ; And straight I found myself led gently on Into the spirit temple of the slave. It was a dome for worship; and I passed In awe and wonder to the inner r The holy, secret place. God punish me, If I shall e'er forget the spirit-guard That kept that sanctum, and abided there! Faith stood in garments of celestial white, Her finger pointing upward, and her eye Had gathered in its depths all glorious rays; While at her feet Humility sat down, With a soft halo circling round her brow, And patient suffering in her gentle glance. And on the right I saw Devotion kneel, Her face transfigured, and the air seemed charmed With sweetest harmony, not heard, but felt.
And thoughts of goodness and of holy truth And anougus or goodness and or holy truth Flitted about the gleaming temple walls, Like Summer's white-winged butterflies, set free From the old chrysalis. The flood of light That filled each room and winding corridor Was neither of the Moon nor of the Sun, But something told me 'twas the light of Peace. Then I turned back with a great sense of joy, That overflowed in song ; because the slave, For whom my spirit prayed, in Christ was free Croydon, N. H.

A SLEEPING CHILD.

Art thou a thing of mortal birth, Whose happy home is on the earth?

Does human blood with life imbue

These wandering voins of heavenly blue,

That stray along the forebead fair, Lost mid a gleam of golden hair? Oh! can that light and airy breath Steal from a being doomed to death? Those features to the grave be sent,
In sleep thus mutely elequent?
Or art thou, what thy form would seem,
The phantom of a blessed dream?

Selections.

A TALK WITH ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

At a time when thousands of honest, earnest men are in painful doubt concerning the fitness of our President to resume his office for another term, every incident which can throw light on his character has a peculiar interest for the public. It has been well said, that we never know a man thoroughly till we see him at his ease. Certain it is that there are moments when we seem able to see into a man and through him. I thought I once had such an opportunity with Mr. Lincoln.

It was just after his controverse it. A TALK WITH ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

As we entered the cars, he beckened me to take a seat with him, and said in a most agreeably frank way, "Were you sincere in what you said about my speech just now?" "I meant every word of it, Mr. Lincoln. Why, an old dyed-in-the-wool Demonstrated you reported by ocrat, who sat near me, applauded you repeatedly; and, when rallied upon his conversion to sound principles, answered, 'I don't believe a word he says, but I can't help clapping him, he is so pat.' That I call the triumph of oratory,

'When you convince a man against his will, Though he is of the same opinion still.' Indeed, sir, I learned more of the art of public speaking last evening than I could from a whole

ourse of lectures on Rhetoric."

"Ah! that reminds me," said he, " of a most ex-"Ah! that reminds me," said he, " of a most extraordinary circumstance which occurred in New Haven, the other day. They told me that the professor of rhetoric in Yale College—a very learned man, isn't he?"—"Yes, sir, and a fine critic, too." "Well, I suppose so; he ought to be, at any rate—they told me he came to hear me, and took notes of the company and come a learner on it to his class the they told me he came to hear me, and took notes of my speech, and gave a lecture on it to his class the next day; and, not satisfied with that, he followed me up to Meriden the next evening, and heard me again for the same purpose. Now, if this is so, it is to my mind very extraordinary. I have been sufficiently astonished at my success in the West. It has been most unexpected. But I had no thought of any marked success at the East, and least of all has been most unexpected. But I had no thought of any marked success at the East, and least of all that I should draw out such commendations from literary and learned men. Now," he continued, "I should like very much to know what was in my speech which you thought so remarkable, and what was an expressed interacted my friend, the preference interacted my friend, the preference interacted my friend, the preference is to be a supposed interacted my friend, the preference is to be a supposed in the preference in the preference in the preference is the preference in the preference in the preference in the preference in the preference is the preference in t speech which you thought so remarkable, and what you suppose interested my friend, the professor, so much." "The clearness of your statements, Mr. Lincoln; the unanswerable style of your reasoning, and especially your illustrations, which were remance and pathos and fun and logic all welded to gether. That story about the snakes, for example, which set the hands and feet of your democratic which set the hands and feet of your democratic hearers in such vigorous motion, was at once queer and comical and tragic and argumentative. It broke through all the barriers of a man's previous opinions and prejudices, at a crash, and blew up the very citadel of his false theories, before he could what had hurt him."

"Can you remember any other illustrations, said he, "of this peculiarity of my style?" I gav said he, "of this peculiarity of mystyle?" I gave him others of the same sort, occupying some half-hour in the critique, when he said, "I am much obliged to you for this. I have been wishing for a long time to find some one who would make this analysis for me. It throws light upon a subject which has been dark to me. I can understand, very readily, how such a power as you have against the subject of the subject which has been dark to me. I can understand, very readily, how such a power as you have against the subject of the s readily, how such a power as you have ascribed to

have been talking. I can say this, that, among my earliest recollections, I remember how, when a mere child, I used to get irritated when anybody talked to me in a way I could not understand. I don't think I ever got angry at anything else in my life. But that always disturbed my temper, and has ever since. I can remember going to my little bed-room, after hearing the neighbors talk of an evening with my father, and spending no small part of the night walking up and down, and trying to make out what was the exact meaning of some of their, to me, wasting up and down, and trying to make out what was the exact meaning of some of their, to me, dark sayings. I could not sleep, though I often tried to, when I got on such a hunt after an idea, until I had caught it; and when I thought I had until I had caught it; and when I thought I had got it, I was not satisfied until I had repeated it over and over, until I had put it in language plain enough, as I thought, for any boy I knew to comprehend. This was a kind of passion with me, and it enough, as I thought, for any boy I knew to com-prehend. This was a kind of passion with me, and it has stuck by me; for I am never easy now, when I am handling a thought, till I have bounded it North, and bounded it South, and bounded it East and hand ath, and bounded it East, and bound-

bounded it South, and bounded it East, and bounded it West. Perhaps that accounts for the characteristic you observe in my speeches, though I never put the two things together before."

"Mr. Lincoln, I thank you for this. It is the most splendid educational fact I ever happened upon. This is genius, with all its impulsive, inspiring, dominating power over the mind of its possessor, developed by education into talent, with its uniformity, its permanence, and its disciplined strength, always ready, always available, never capricious—the highest possession of the human in-

were, developed by estimation in solicite, with its informative, its permanent of the forms in the surface of the permanent o

publicly. It will be most valuable in inciting our culture which most minds absolutely require, man can talk well unless he is able first of all

through him. I thought I once had such an opportunity with Mr. Lincoln.

It was just after his controversy with Douglas, and some months before the meeting of the Chicago Convention of 1860, that Mr. Lincoln came to Norwich to make a political speech. It was in substance the famous speech delivered in New York, commencing with the noble words, "There is but one political question before the people of this country, which is this: Is slavery right or is it wrong?" and ending with the yet nobler words, "Gentlemen, it has been said of the world's bistory, hitherto, that 'might makes right;' it is for us and our times to reverse the maxim, and to show that right makes might!"

Just then a gentleman entered the car, who was well known as a very pardent friend of Douglas. Big a little currious to see how Mr. Lincoln would meet him, I introduced him after this fashion: "Mr. Lincoln, allow me to introduce Mr. Lincoln allow me to introduce Mr. Lincoln, allow me to introduce Mr. Lincoln allow me to introduce Mr. Lincoln, allow me to introduce Mr. Lincoln, allow

The next morning I met him at the railroad station, where he was conversing with our mayor, every few minutes looking up the track, and inquiring half impatiently and half quizzically, "Where's that wagon of yours? Why don't the wagon come of yours? Why don't the wagon come of yours? Why don't the wagon come of yours? I have seen you before, sir!" "I think not," I replied; "you must mistake me for some other person." "No I don't; I saw you at the Town Hall, last evening." "Is it possible, Mr. Lincoln, that you could observe individuals so closely in such a crowd?" "Oh, yes!" he replied, laughing, "that is my way. I don't forget faces. Were you not there?" "I was, sir; and I was well paid for going," adding somewhat in the vein of pleasantry he had started, "I consider it one of the most extracrdinary speeches I ever heard."

As we neared the end of our journey, Mr. Lincoln turned to me very pleasantly, and said, "I want to thank you for this conversation. I have enjoyed it very much." I replied, referring to some stalwart denunciations he had just been uttering of the demoralizing influences of Washington upon Mr. Lincoln, may I say one thing to you before, we separate *" "Certainly, any thing you for politicals in respect to the slavery question, "Mr. Lincoln, may I say one thing to you before, we separate *" "Certainly, any thing you for politicals in respect to the slavery question, "Mr. Lincoln, may I say one thing to you before, we separate *" "Certainly, any thing you for politicals in respect to the slavery question, "Mr. Lincoln, may I say one thing to you before, where the demoralizing influences of Washington upon Mr. Lincoln, may I say one thing to you before, we separate *" "Certainly, any thing you for politicals in respect to the slavery question, "Mr. Lincoln, may I say one thing to you before, we separate *" "Certainly, any thing you for exertainly and to had a say one there is alwart denunciations he bad just been uttering of the demoralizing influences of Washington upon Mr. Lincoln, may I say As we entered the cars, he beckoned me to take a seat with him, and said in a most agreeably frank my hand warmly in both of his, he said, "I say Amen to that." Amen to that."

There is a deep excavation in the rock shown to visitors, among the White Mountains, into which one of the purest of the mountain streams pours itself, known as "The Pool." As you stand by its ide at an ordinary time, you look mass of impenetrable green, lying tike a rich em ald in a setting of granite, upon the bosom the mountain. But occasionally the noon-d the mountain. But occasionally the noon-day sun darts through it a vertical ray, which penetrates to its very bottom, and shows every corration of the varied interior. I felt at that me that a ray had darted down to the bottom of Abra am Lincoln's heart, and that I could see the ham Lincoln's neart, and that I could see the whole. It seemed to me as beautiful as that emerald pool, and as pure. I have never forgotten that glimpse. When that strange revocation came of the most rational and reasonable proclamation of Fremont—

"The slaves of rebels shall be set free"—I remem-

"The slaves of rebels shall be set free"—I remembered that hearty "Amen," and stifled my rising apprehensions. I remembered it in those dark days when McClellan, Nero-like, was fiddling on James river, and Pope was being routed before Washington, and the report came that a prominent cabinet-minister had boasted that he had succeeded in preventing the issue of the Emancipation Proclams. venting the issue of the Emancipation Proclat tion, I said, "Abraham Lincoln will prove to And he has! God bless him! he has! Slow

if you please, but true. Unimpassioned, if you please, but true. Jocose, trifling, if you please, but please, but true. Jocose, trifling, if you please, but true. Reluctant to part with unworthy official advisers, but true himself—true as steel! I could wish him less a man of facts, and more a man of ideas. I could wish him more stern and more vigorous. Every man has faults. But still, I say, Amen to Abraham Lincoln! My countrymen, can we do better, any of us, and all of us, than to say, Amen to Abraham Lincoln, till the Lakes shall echo it to the Gulf, and the eastern to the western sea?—The Rev. John P. Gulliver in the Independent.

NEW WORK BY MONOURE D. CONWAY.

The following notice of a volume recently publish ed in England, from the pen of M. D. Conway, and entitled "Testimonies on the Subject of Slavery,

Mr. M. D. Conway is certainly entitled to speak with some authority on the weighty problems which he discusses in this volume. As a native-born Virginian, whose early years were spent in the town of Falmouth, which has been the scene of so many stirring events since the breaking out of the war, he can speak from personal observation of the readily, how such a power as you have ascribed to me will account for the effect which seems to be produced by my speeches. I hope you have not been too flattering in your estimate. Certainly, I have had a most wonderful success, for a man of my limited education."

"That suggests, Mr. Lincoln, an inquiry which has several times been upon my lips, during this has several times been upon my lips, during this conversation. I want very much to know how you got this unusual power of 'putting things.' It must have been a matter of education. No man has it by nature alone. What has your education been?"

"Well, as to education, the newspapers are correct—I never went to school more than six months in my life. But, as you say this must be a prorect—I never went to school more than six months in my life. But, as you say this must be a product of culture in some form, I have been putting the question you ask me, to myself, while you have been talking. I can say this, that, among my earliest recollections, I remember how, when a mere made to introduce the free-school system of the North into his native State. It might be thought that those two aspects of the questions would alone suffice to open the eyes of all intelligent men to the radical evil of slavery; for surely an institution which blasts the soil and denies to the masses of the which blasts the soil and denies to the masses of the people, white as well as black, the blessings of education cannot possibly possess any compensating advantages. Mr. Conway had an opportunity of discussing the school question with Messrs. Mason and Hunter, the two Senators for Virginia. "Mason," he says, "was particularly volument in denouncing Hunter, the two Senators for Virginia. "Mason," he says, "was particularly vehement in denouncing the education of the white masses, and declared that such education would be surely followed by the introduction into the South of the entire swarm of Northern 'isms.' Indeed, both Senators treated me with coldness after they found that I was interested in giving lands to the landless and instruction to the ignorant." Mr. Conway, however, was so much in love with his educational hobby that he published a pamphlet in which he set forth the facts of the free-school system; but the brochure fell stillborn from the press, and the chivalric gentlemen of Virginia remained deaf to the appeal. Yet Mr. Conway describes the condition of the non-slave-holding whites of his State as being morally and intellectually as degraded as the lowest class of the negroes. After summing up the results of his own negroes. After summing up the results of his own investigations, he says:—

of the institution, it is enough to know that in every Southern town there is a slave-prison and a slave-whipper. As Mr. Conway explains, ladies and gentlemen, as a rule, do not soil their own hands with the lash. Many a highly susceptible lady, who would faint at the sight of blood, sends her waiting-maid to the prison with a note, which, although no doubt elegantly written and highly pertuned, is couched in these terms:—"Mr. —, will you give negro-girl Nancy — lashes, and charge to account?" "Nancy with drowning eyes, waits at the door whilst Madame Serena writes this; takes the billet to the constable's door; waits with a group of boys or coarse young men around her, some of whom jeer at her as one who is 'going to catch it, others of whom stand with silent curiosity watching her falling tears until the grim man of fate appears, leads her in, and locks the door in the face of the idle crowd." This is no imaginative sketch. Mr. Conway simply describes what passed before his illustrations of how the housand into the substance of its whistle not one entire the farmer's horse, nor does the proximity of the sum the fery spirit, disturb the equanimity of the anxious matter in the safety of her child.

The neadle-woman, by the domestic hearth or in the shops where labor associates with capital, aided by the sewing-machines—one of the last best gifts of mechanical invention to women, if not to men—the waver, by the side of her carpet-loom, which seems to think, as well as work, and which almost talks; the shoemaker, pegging a boot at a blow; the laborer, who fills his gravel-car by two strokes of a steam shovel, and upsets it by a turn of his hand; the husbandman, who nows and rakes his hay, and reaps, and threshes, and measures out his golden grain by the agencies of cunning mechanisms, almost without faigue, are only a few of the thousand most without faigue, are only a few of the thousand lillustrations of how the housand

word has ever protested. Several slave-dealers' letters which he quotes are epistolary gems. Here is one full of significance. Mr. Bacon Tait, of Richmond, writes to Mr. Windsor:—"Pray do me the favor to hand the enclosed letter privately to Mr. Armfield. Don't take it to him at his house, but seek an opportunity to give it to him when none of his family can see you do so." It needs no ingenious method of interpretation to decipher the meaning of this letter. The slaveholder was afraid that if the women of the family saw the communication, their hu-

letter. The slaveholder was afraid that if the women of the family saw the communication, their humane instincts might revolt against the traffic.

Mr. Conway has written a scathing answer to Dr. James Hunt's theory of the natural inferiority of the African. The pro-slavery sophists will not be able to reject his arguments on the pretence that James Hunt's theory of the natural inferiority of the African. The proslavery sophists will not be able to reject his arguments on the pretence that he has grappled with them boldly and successfully on their own ground. His sketch of the anti-slavery movement, as personified by Garrison and Phillips, his very interesting account of the liberation through the war of his father's slaves, and of the part he took in that good work, and his closing address to the English people, in which he reminds them of their obligations and duties—all these combine to make up a very important and seasonable work. He had the satisfaction of discovering his father's slaves shortly after they had left the house of bondage, and he never parted from them until he had safely established them in the free State of Ohio.

Mr. Conway says:—

Mr. Conway says:—

"In the gardens of a European palace there is a dial with a small cannon attached. When the sun rises to its meridian height, the cannon is fired, a sunglass having been so arranged as to concentrate the rays for that purpose. Not far from this is another dial arranged like that made by Linnœus at Upsal, in showers and the unfolding of others. The cannon's roar in America, to-day, proclaims liberty in the assembler of the control of

These words are as pregnant with truth as they are glowing with eloquence; and in taking leave of Mr. Conway's volume, we would earnestly hope that his vaticinations may be speedily realized.

GOV. ANDREW'S ADDRESS.

The great New England Agricultural Fair at Springfield was held last week. The great feature of the occasion was the address of His Excellency Gov. Andrew, which was delivered to a crowded audience. We copy a considerable portion of it below:

I hail this becoming and beneficent gathering of the most intelligent yeomanry of New England. Here we touch our mother earth, while we join our friendly hands together in the spirit of a fresh dedication of our powers and hopes, to the task of deep-ening the foundations of the solid fame, of widening ening the foundations of the sond failed, the circle of her gracious influence, and brightening

the circle of her gracious innuence, and orig the sparkling diadem of her peaceful grande Let us rember, for a moment, the external picture of New England, as she presents herself to the eye of New England, as she presents herself to the eye of the economist, and the thoughtful agriculturist, comprising the six States or Commonwealths of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Her area covers something more than 65,037 square miles, or nearly forty-two millions of acres of surface. Of these acres Maine possesses 20,330,240, of which only 5,-700.755 acres are reckoned by the census of 1860 as 700,755 acres are reckoned by the census of 1860 as land included in farms; while again, of that number but 7,677,215 are classed with "improved lands." New Hampshire contains 5,939,200 acres; her farms including 3,744,630 acres; while her improved lands are but 2,367,039 acres.

Vermont contains an area of 6,335,680 acres, of which 4,160,839 are reckoned as land in farms, but of which quantity, again, but 2,758,443 acres are returned as under improvement. Massachusetts covers

of which quantity, again, but 2,758,443 acres are returned as under improvement. Massachusetts covers a surface of 4,992,000 acres, of which 3,183,212 are included in farms, while but 2,155,512 acres are classed among improved lands. Rhode Island possesses 519,698 acres of farms, out of her 838,840 acres of area, but of these acres 329,884 only are reckoned as improved lands. Connecticut has 2,991,369 acres, with farms to the extent of 2,504,263, but her improved lands are stated at 1,830,808 acres.

991,369 acres, with farms to the extent of 2,504,263, but her improved lands are stated at 1,830,808 acres.

Thus of the whole area of New England, only 12,118,902 acres, or three and five-tenths per cent. af her surface, have yet been brought within the category of improved land. With a population of 3,135,293 persons, in a soil reputed to be sterile, in a climate often styled unkind, New England had in 1860 accumulated an aggregate of wealth, invested 1860 accumulated an aggregate of wealth, invested in her lands, railroads, mills, ships and the various products of ingenuity and taste, which indicate the industry and wealth of a highly cultivated and faindustry and wealth of a highly cultivated and favored people, amounting in value to not less than two thousand millions of dollars. While she has contributed, according to the last census, 569,336 of the sons and daughters native to her soil, to swell the population of other Commonwealths, outside of New England, and has invested of her earnings, as she has scattered her children, in every State, on every waterfall and in every mart and mine and enterprise of industry.

leads her in, and locks the door in the face of the idle crowd." This is no imaginative sketch. Mr. Conway simply describes what passed before his eyes every day in his native village in Falmouth. Captain Pickett was the name of the grim inquisitor who plied his disgusting trade in that place for many a year, until, as was only fitting, he brought his career to an end by a self-inflicted retribution—that of suicide. Mr. Conway waxes indignant at the immorphities of the slave-breeding States, against which, as he truly says, not one of the Southern clergymen who lately made their appeal to the civilized world has ever protested. Several slave-dealers letters which he quotes are epistolary gems. Here is one

or nature—caloric and steam, and electricity and magnetism, and light itself; the mysteries of science so wonderful and august that they seem to tread celestial spheres, and to sweep the mind bewildered by the contemplation off far beyond the domain of knowledge or of reason—these, all these, tamed and allured to human use, are familiar spirits by whose means a thousand miracles are worth written. allured to human use, are familiar spirits by whose means a thousand miracles are wrought, without amazement to the beholder, and with little consciousness of our own, how nearly are we brought to the contemplation of the very thoughts of Deity.

Those winged horses barnessed to the plough, the loom, the traveling car, carrying burdens, crushing ones, hammering granite and iron or waying deli-

ores, hammering granite and iron, or weaving deli-ores, hammering granite and iron, or weaving deli-cate tissues for ornament or luxarry, or flashing intel-ligence by invisible magic, are daily augmenting in number and power—though they had long since add-ed mechanical forces to the industrial strength of our New England equivalent to that of many millions

exploration; that the practical times science, all combined, understand as structive potato-rot, which concern of every farm and every household gines who first descried the May Pi Aristotle. ety of the conquests which yet remain me exhort you also to bear in mind, if

and golden Octobers? Can a people become indif-ferent to the influence of beauty discerned and felt, either in the sweet repose of nature or in her sublimer glories, to whom are familiar the lanscapes of St. George and Champlain and the Moosehead; the valleys of the Deerfield, the Connecticut, the Housatonic, piled in ragged variety of projecting rocks from fertile levels up into eternal heights of snow; the rich allurements of the Green Mountains, the delicious surprises of Berkshire, the great and sphynx-like capes, and the boundless, soundless, mysterious ocean which they strive to penetrate; whose inward ear has heard the windbarn of the ests, the music of the waterfalls, and the of the everlasting sea, whose tides beat time in the ceaseless anthem of creation?

of the mind; sometimes purging the ill-bu I do not intend, even in a characteristic asse blage of her own people, to laud or magnify New England. I would put far away the least temptation to exalt ourseves, or to over-estimate anything which pertains to the communities which this Socihealing the wounds and exulcerations the and the like. For the unlearned man k not what it is to descend into himself or to

the use and employment thereof.

The uses and the influence of true learning. I power which flows from sincere cultivation as great and enduring that were it a task, and out a delight, I would not cease to arge and advantage of the control of the the National Union, that grand but menaced nationality of which these States are constituents.

From the domestic hearth-stone, from the fireside worship of home, the child ascends, led by parental hands, to the grander temple where priests and elders wave their censers and offer sacrifice. Thus may we ourselves at this more domestic altar receive strength and inspiration which will be our encouragement and our instruction when we assend our in this presence, the duty which is imposed of man, are open their separate careers. The forfeit their places; but they can scarcely ext them. You of New England may forget the

of America. I do not forget that when the national jurisdiction over all our States and Territories shall resume its unquestioned sway, and our national career begin anew, that the accelerated increase of wealth and of population in their necessary distri-bution and effusion will, year by year, constantly diminish the relative material strength of the Northrailing word for another. Your gre found hereafter, where it has been in the highest development and cul-

coal mines, the gold for the coal mines, the gold fields, the virgin forests, the oil wells, the cotton plant and sugar cane of the West and of the South, of the Gulf and of the Pacific coast, cannot fail in their attractions. The Pacific coast, cannot fail in their attractions. The swelling tide of immigrant populations will flow across these Atlantic borders to those alluring homes and seats of industry. Along with many better men will come the greedy adventurers, some of them ignorant, some of them sordid, unblessed by filial love or patriotic sentiment, to seize the opporthem ignorant, some of them sorting, underseased of filial love or patriotic sentiment, to seize the oppor-tunities of golden fortune. The wild chase for gain,

tunities of golden fortune. The wild chase for gain, the allurements of Nature herself, the temptation of that fevered life which distinguishes the youth of society in fertile and fruitful States, containing within themselves, of necessity, a certain measure of social and public danger, suggest to us in advance the duty and the destiny of New England. She is to be, in the long and transcendent future of the republic, the great conserving influence among the States. For nearly two centuries and a halt, already, have her people kept the vestal-fire of personal and public liberty brightly burning in her little town democracies. Obedient to order, and practising industry, as well as loving individual freedom, they have acquired an instinct which discriminates between license and liberty, between the passion of the hour and the solemn adjudications of law. They possess the traditions of liberty, they inherit ideas of grayersment, they have alout

Tour past mistory in a record of men, to our monow, oftentimes found narrow and but yet heroic and sincere, of general bear along and nand down the precious which have sprung the ideas and institu give dignity and welfare to a nation. Agriculturists, yeomen of New Engla ful to her ideas, to her history, her inst

hither, and hold here, the profound thin tient students of Nature, those tirels who wait upon the stars, or weigh the dinsect's wing. Discard and discourse prejudice of ignorance and the conce wise that he understands the law which the relation of any fertilizer to any crop the relation of any fertilizer to any have ever observed the mystery of influence of the first impregnation of the future offspring of whatever size gin and contagion of the cattle disea

and science adapted to the promotion of ture and the useful Arts. It might sainly vout lover of truth to rejoice in these opp for the diffusion of knowledge. It is enough for all the pains they cost, leaving out o part to the coming generations, to enjoy will contemplation of the delights of lam when, in the exultation of his mighty faith, is

the next day and saw a woman weeping for her that was dead; and bereupon said, Yester saw a brittle thing broken, to-day human no

presents.

thought which overshadows and controls all the thought which overshadows and controls an others is that which suggests the character and the measure of the responsibility of New England to the whole, and to every part, of that great and the whole, and to every part, of that great and and never whets his scythe; whereas with the

fectionate patriotism with which you must regard the National Union, that grand but menaced na-

are of the stock that produced Jonatha Edwards, but you cannot make the cotton plant flourish in New Hampshire.

strength and inspiration which will be our encouragement and our instruction when we ascend our National Zion to unite with all the tribes of our American Israel.

I have not failed to perceive nor to exult in the thought of the boundless possibilities of grandeur and beneficent power which pertain to the future of America. I do not forget that when the national jurisdiction over all our States and Targitogies.

eastern States.

The broad lands, the deep soils, the choice farms, for her while Vermont leads the heu intelligence and success of her sl while Alvin Clark makes a telesco which is the marvel of astronomers, Museum of Zoology at Cambridge riety and extent of many important

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13 for the 1 GF? WM.

Ret THE SP TION-By San Dare yo We shall s crisis is un the manho

deprecate than war, the first ou fathers met stellation by safe, just a happy unde under a un whole contin of Republic "No pent But the By Mr. S.

Is it not stopped? I ["Yes, too n "Thus far th "Thus far it ther." [A v won't vote for with this was the Conventi want peace.
"Then give [If the Sefernal war, the North. The sovereign] By A. McA

A man who sults the holy a place in its should be case God. • terrified." It may be of story may be of stee By C. C. Bu We talk of r There is worse ern people all b tutional Union. with hell! The This fact was t restoration of the ed to nullify an constitutional au to what will be

asked. I answ are not the subje are not the subjective sense whatever.

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For himself, if
bome, where hi ome, where

the presence of the army, and and among stra By Mr. Alle He wanted their rights, w them by Lincol was ready to fi under the feet

Captain Kodured, and, if duced, and, if in villainy. In villainy. In villainy. In thiever, Lind was now played was now played with the duty of every didate. For asfely guided was all national cle, and changely and the sun into a lifts up his has shall this at some wives be thereas, and children of the children of the